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The Fountain of Youth.—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

WHEN preparing for publication the text of the Jāiminiya legend of Cyavana, which is built about the myth of the Fountain of Youth, I expected to find some systematic presentation of the different phases of this popular tale, as they are found in the Orient, in Europe, in America, and in Polynesia, an epitome of which might serve to introduce the new Sanskrit text. But all the accounts accessible to me turned out to be incomplete, while most of them had confused this myth with other distinct legends of analogous yet not identical character. I found it necessary therefore to do my own work, so to speak,¹ and have written an introduction which, I regret to say, though longer than at first intended, is yet still too short to be definitive. On the other hand, I have hopes that the historical problem here for once definitely stated may be solved by those to whose province of knowledge this Arethusa has fled, those, namely, who are familiar with cisindic literature shortly before and shortly after the Christian era.

¹ But not without help, here gratefully acknowledged, from several colleagues, who have assisted me to find authorities and texts in a field remote from my usual business. I gladly take this opportunity to thank Professors Torrey, Bourne, F. Wells Williams, and A. H. Palmer for such aid. Also Professor Kittredge and Professor Lanman were so kind as to furnish me with certain material which I should otherwise have lacked. To the useful communications from Professors Jastrow, Morris, and Porter I have referred in the notes. My greatest indebtedness is to Professor H. R. Lang, to whom I owe the references to early French and Spanish literature.

As to the text, in 1882 I transcribed for Professor Whitney some of the third book of the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa from Judge Burnell's unique South Indian (Grantham) manuscript. In the part transcribed was contained the legend of the Fountain of Youth, which was subsequently translated by Professor Whitney, the translation being published in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1883. The text itself has never been edited, nor was the Brāhmaṇa continuation of the story, which bears a close resemblance to the later epic version, included in the translation. The text of both of these parts of Brāhmaṇa is somewhat corrupt; but it seems better to bring them out now than to wait longer for other manuscripts, which may never be found. As explained in the notes appended to the text, revision of the original has led to some slight changes in the translation.

Found in many parts of the world, myths of rejuvenation are of varied sorts. Some of these appear to be unique in kind, such as that of the curse of recurrent youth involved in the fate of Cartaphilus, or the Icelandic Saga of the man who shed his skin every few centuries and always came out thirty years old.¹ Many of the myths are at least so dissimilar that there is no danger of confusing them, or of fancying that they were originally identical and subsequently differentiated. For example, rejuvenation by means of a fairy's ring will not be regarded as a special development of the myth of the water of life. But in other cases, a lack of discrimination has led to this kind of error, and as a result Medea's kettle is identified with Ponce de Leon's spring, etc.

The simplest and perhaps commonest means of securing rejuvenation is to ask for and get it. Either a real deity or a good-natured mortal is the deus ex machina. Quasi parallels are found in the stories of magical cures, restoration to sight, and even to life, at the hands of Hindu Yogins and Muhammadan Faqîrs in modern India.² In ancient India, the god Indra gives Bharadvāja a life-renewing science or formula.³ "Never

¹ Baring-Gould, however, appears to connect these two tales. *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, i, App. A. It is perhaps too much to say that any form is unique. ² See the *Legends of the Panjāb*, pp., 81, 213, 232.

³ TBr. iii. 10. 11. 3 ff. The same god restores the life of the dead. R(B). vi. 120. 13.

to come to old age" is also the reward of living in a place especially holy, and rejuvenation is promised in the philosophical writings to such as even hear the words of wisdom.¹ But youth may also be gained, with a saint's aid, by a bargain with a fellow-mortal. Thus in the Hindu epic, Yayāti, an aged king, persuades a son to exchange royalty for youth. The king is, indeed, informed that meditation on the saintly benefactor is a necessary prelude.² Yet in point of fact he begs each son in turn to strike the bargain, till one consents and takes his father's decrepitude in exchange for the throne; but only for a thousand years. Then Yayāti resumes his age and lives as a senile ascetic for a thousand years more. Even death itself may be put aside through exchange of life with another,³ or by means of charms;⁴ so why should not this be true of decrepitude as well?

¹ In the formula, na yāty eva jarām naraḥ, R(B). iii. 76. 27, cf. AV. x. 8. 32, na mamāra na jīryate, the literal meaning, "he comes not to old age," excludes (by virtue of its stereotyped character) the interpretation that he (who lives in the hermitage) escapes old age by death. With the statement of the Upanishads, that to hear such and such a truth would 'rejuvenate the old and make a dry branch bud again', may be compared the Zoroastrian promise, Yasna, xix. 10, that the word of truth, if learned and held fast, would make the hearer immortal. Compare also the *arbre sec* (of many Oriental writers), which will bloom when Mass is said under it.

² Mbh. i. 83. 41 : saṁkrāmayaṣyasi jarām yatheṣṭam mām anudhyāya, "by meditating on me you will confer your old age on whomever you will." This point is ignored in the short account of Yayāti at R. vii. 59.

³ This is the story of Ruru, Mbh. i. 8, found also in the Kathāsarit-sāgara, 14; cf. Pañcatantra, iv. 5; Benfey, i. 436. Ruru gives half his life to get back the life of his sweetheart.

⁴ The mṛtasamjivani (or -ini) plant is an herb that revives the dead, in distinction from the "great herb," samdhāni, which unites several parts of a dead body, the viśalyā, which simply cures wounds, and the suvarṇakaraṇi, which "gives a golden (ruddy) color," Rām. vi. 74. 33. In the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, the samjivini science is a formula, the repetition of which raises the dead, Mbh. i. 76. 33 (in connection with the Yayāti tale, above; according to Ludwig, who interprets Yayāti allegorically as the year, the revivifying power of water or its renewal, Sitz. Böh. Ges. Wiss., 1898, Class. Phil.); or it is a jewel having this effect, ib. xiv. 80. 42. Both epics know the 'wound-curer.' Somadeva also tells of an herb which raises the dead, mṛtasamjivana, as well as of sorcerers who have this power, e. g., Kathās. 69 and 81. Compare for this and other means of revivification the 76th taraṅga, with Tawney's notes at i. 499 and ii. 248. In the seventh Vetāla story is mentioned the rarer herb which "removes old age and death," given by a supernatural person, bhakṣyaphalaṁ jarāmṛtyuharaṁ dadāu, 81.

In Grecian myth, rejuvenation at the will of a deity is implied in the tale of Tithonos and the ἀνηπαρία which the wretch might have had, if Eos' wit had been equal to her beauty. At a later date, as related by Palaephatos, Aphrodite changed an old man, who had served her, into the beautiful youth beloved by Sappho.¹ Further, Aelian in his *Varia Historia*, iii. 18, mentions a deadly rejuvenating tree found in the land of fable. But even the 'water of life' ἀθάνατο νερό, for earthly use, is a modern import into Hellenic thought.²

108. A pearl "removes poisons, devils, old age, and sickness," viṣa-rakṣojarārogaharam (cūḍāratnam), Kathās. 119. 27. A "heavenly fruit" destroys "age and sickness" also in 123. 65 (divyam adāt phalam; a grateful monkey is the donor). Illustrations of revivifying gems from the *Syrische Märchen* and other sources, which I pass over, are given by Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 231 ff., and by Clauston, in his notes on the Pardoner's Tale, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii. pp. 407, 497. A good example of the *Lebensbaum* is given by the wood of the true cross, which revived a dead man when tested by Constantine's mother, Helena, who was thus able to distinguish it from the thieves' crosses, Albī-rūnī, *Chronology*, p. 292 (Sachau). Modern India abounds in tales of revivification by means of balms and charms. In *Old Deccan Days*, p. 139, for example, the juice of a tree revivifies, as a flower does in Europe. There is in Indian charms the same distinction between remaking a body and revitalizing it when made (out of a bone or ashes), which is found in the Russian 'waters of death and life.' This appears in the Rāmāyaṇa (above); in the story in Kathās. 96; and in the difference between the Tamil samjīvi and śisupābam, as explained below. For an interesting example of the supernatural holiness gradually attaching to a common article, compare the development of the Sangreal, from gral, 'coral,' the λιθόδεῦδρον, half stone, half 'herba' (as John of Hese calls it outright), which cures wounds and "illius est, ut ait Zoroaster, mira potestas" (Oppert, *Ueber die Ursprünge der Parzival- und Gralsage*, p. 206). Compare the Sk. vidrūma, "a queer tree" (coral) and Pliny's statement, N. H. xxxii. 2. 11: (In India) "soothsayers and prophets regard coral as the most sacred of amulets. . . They enjoy it both as an ornament and as an object of devotion" (et decore et religione gaudent). For the attainment of "long life," various amulets, such as a girdle, AV. vi. 133, or the grace of healing waters, are in common demand from the earliest times in India.

¹ This legend and those of Olger and the bridle are given by Dunlop in his *History of Fiction*.

² For Aelian, see the note below, p. 43. The "immortal spring," ἀθάνατος πηγῇ, or spring of immortal life, of Greek folk-belief is not a spring wherewith to secure immortality or rejuvenation in life, but it pertains to the realms of death and the blessed shades, where one may drink of the water of forgetfulness or of the cool fountain of Mnemo-

In Northern legend, Olger the Dane is changed from one hundred to thirty years of age by virtue of a ring bestowed by the fairy Morgana, and in the tale of *La Mule sans Frein*, the bridle of said mule bestows eternal youth upon its fortunate possessor. The gods themselves renew their youth by drinking ambrosia or by eating apples; but these have as little to do with a tangible Fountain of Youth as has the heavenly "Fount of Honey-dew," of which the Vedic gods are invoked to let the worshipper partake. In post-classical Hindu fable, ambrosia (amṛta) is applied by the gods to the ashes and bones of the dead, to revivify them, as in the Kathāsaritsāgara, 72; but never to rejuvenate the living.

But there is still another way of restoring youth. When Vergil, the magician, renewed his youth in the mediæval tale recounted by Dunlop, he employed the means natural to so distinguished a dealer in Black Art and had himself thoroughly chopped up. In this condition he was to remain for nine days, at the end of which he should have come out in a fresh edition. Unfortunately the magic rite was rudely interrupted and the new Vergil never got beyond the state of boyhood, though he had safely passed the period of infancy, for before he finally expired he was able to utter a curse on those who had disturbed the ceremony. Some remains of an ancient fire-cult may be inferred from the fact that the arrangements included "a fair lamp at all seasons burning" beneath the barrel in which the aged poet was pickled.

This method of rejuvenation implies a well-known principle of magic, in accordance with which the old life must be sacrificed that the new life may emerge. In various forms this principle is widely recognized, and a close parallel to the attempted rejuvenation of Vergil is offered by the effectual rebirth of

syne. Compare Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. p. 390, note: "Die eigentliche Stelle dieses Lebenswassers ist wohl immer die Unterwelt." Rohde cites, for such water, benedictions in Greek epitaphs, and Schol. Plato, *Rep.* x. 611c. The formula in Egypt (May Osiris give thee the cold water of everlasting life) "scheint auf original ägyptischen Monumenten nicht vorzukommen," ib. 391, note. For modern Grecian "water of immortality," and parallels, cf. Hahn *ap.* Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 236. It is by no means improbable that the whole conception of the ἀθάνατος πηγή, occurring as it does at a relatively late (Orphic) period in Grecian belief, may be due to Semitic influence.

Jantu in another tale of the Hindu epic. According to this story,¹ a certain king Somaka, who had but one son, feeling insecure in his hopes of posterity and desirous of offering further hostages to fortune, insisted that his priests at any cost should provide him with more children. Loath at first to adopt evil magic, they finally admitted that there was a means known to them. After further persuasion on the part of the king, they revealed the plan, which was carried out as follows. Jantu, the only son of Somaka, was seized and sacrificed, being cut into pieces and cast into the fire. Then the various queens of the king were forced to inhale the steam and smoke and in due time they became pregnant and each bore a son, Jantu himself being reborn of his own (former) mother. This trick secured for the king the sons he desired, though the sinfulness of the act is admitted by the poet, who adds that Somaka was eventually sent to hell to expiate the crime.²

I have adduced these cases of clearly magical functions before discussing that of Medea, in order that, with these parallels in mind, the ancient mistake of interpreting Medea's cauldron as a Fountain of Youth may be avoided. This error goes back at least as far as the time of Peter Martyr and centuries later it was countenanced and made classic by the famous book of Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*, in which (p. 12) the author identifies Medea's cauldron with the Jungbrunnen, the latter with the Hindu pool of rejuvenation, and finally interprets all three as developments of the same "cloud-water" imagined to be ambrosia. It is true that the honey-dew sent to earth by the Aśvins, the physician gods of India, is regarded as their "medicine," and that dew even now is considered a "sovereign preventative against diseases of the skin," as is illustrated by those Spanish peasants who "roll

¹ Mahābhārata, iii. 127-128.

² A similar tale is told in the Kathāsaritsāgara, 61, where a woman is advised by an ascetic ("of heretical sect") to kill her own son (for the god), to get more. In India sacred wells are reputed to cure barrenness, and even to revitalize the dead. But modern Hindu life offers a good parallel to the epic tale also. The case is officially reported (1870) of a woman who murdered and drank the blood of a child to secure offspring. Compare Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, i. p. 50; ii. p. 172 (with further examples). In the Kathāsaritsāgara, 78 (fourth Vetāla), a king's life is saved and prolonged by the sacrifice of a boy.

naked in the dew of a meadow" to ward off such diseases.¹ But dew is a long distance from Medea's kettle, which contains various drugs and magical substances, together with the debris of her victim, and all this in a kettle over a fire! Medea is, in truth, only a practicer of black magic. She rejuvenates not by having recourse to a sacred spring but by means of her wit, drugs, and incantations (ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας φησὶν οὕτως):

αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσωνα θῆκε φίλον κόρον ἡβώνοντα,
γῆρας ἀποξύσασα ἰδνίησι πραπίδεσσι,
φάρμακα πόλλ' ἔψουσ' ἐπὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν.

And Aeschylus narrates ὅτι καὶ τὰς Διονύσου τροφούς μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεψήσασα ἐνεοποίησεν.

So in Ovid, Met. vii. 271 ff., drugs, old crow², enchantments, and witches' fire are the means employed by Medea. Only in mediæval romance, where, as will be shown, a different means is well known, does Medea renew the youth of Jason's father by means of the "water of Paradise."³ 'In the middle of the fifteenth century,' says Schmidt, in the notes to his edition of Straparola,⁴ 'appeared the French romance, *Le Livre du preux et vaillant Jason et de la belle Médée*, wherein the old fables were renewed in modern garb. In this work, through the power of the water of life, Aeson feels so rejuvenated, qu'il étoit fort enclin à chanter, danser, et faire toutes choses joyeuses; et qui plus est, il regardoit moult volontiers les belles damoiselles.'

There is then no native Hellenic myth of a Fountain of Youth for man. But as in Greece, so in Rome. There appears to have been no early native legend of any fountain, to quaff which, or to bathe in which, at once rejuvenated human senility.

¹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, iii. p. 297. Compare also the St. John's Day bath and the May-day dew-bath among the English in the time of Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 893, with Liebrecht's note (ed. 1856, p. 57). On the honey-dew or aerial honey of India (manna?) as reported by the Greeks, cf. Strabo, xv. 7; Nonnus, *Dionys.*, xxvi. p. 451; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 143, note 4.

² The crow here, as in Egypt, is a symbol of long life.

³ Compare the account in the *Trojan War* of Conrad of Würzburg, referred to in Taylor's *German Popular Stories*, notes, p. 328, apropos of the tale of the "Water of Life."

⁴ *Die Märchen des Straparola. Aus dem Italiänischen, mit Anmerkungen von Dr. Friedr. Wilh. Val. Schmidt*, Berlin, 1817.

To find this Fountain of Youth on European soil we must first, as has been intimated above, turn to the writers of romance, who took the myth from the East. That such was the source of the tale is indicated by the fact that they locate the mysterious Fount in the Orient. It appears, for example, in the fifteenth century, in the story of Huon de Bordeaux, where we read that the hero discovers near the Persian gulf the Fountain of Youth, which comes out of Paradise. No sooner has Huon bathed in this fountain than he "feels resuscitated from the effects of his late labours and recovers his pristine vigour," without the meretricious aid of magical drugs or enchantments. Near the fountain "grew a tree, of which the apples partook of the resuscitating properties of the water by which its roots were nourished." Dunlop,¹ from whose *History of Fiction* I have here cited, adds the parallel just referred to, together with that found in the Fable of Coquaigne,—

La Fontaine de Jovent,
Qui fit rajovenir le gent.

But it is possible that this latter land of jest was not the last reduction of the Oriental paradise, but the western paradise of Keltic mythology, where all live in idleness and drink the water of life in the island of Youth (see below).²

Le Grand D'Aussy (third edition, vol. i. p. 302), speaking of this last imaginary fount in an imaginary land, has a note contrasting the Fountain of Youth with the fountain of life, or the 'water of life.' He holds (correctly) that the latter myth was introduced into Europe through the Oriental romance; but he errs in making the Fountain of Youth exclusively European, fancying that the Orient had only a tree and fount of life, and that this became, at the hands of European writers, the more delicate myth of the Fountain of Youth.

Another French romance, the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, by Richard le Pèlerin (thirteenth century), reveals in its name the

¹ Dunlop adduces also a parallel from the Greek "romance of Ismene and Ismenias;" but this must be elided, as Liebrecht has shown.

² The *locus classicus* is Hans Sachs' jesting allusion :

Auch ist in dem Land ein Junckbrunn,
Darinn verjungen sich die Alten.

This is in Schlauraffen Land, "Das von den Alten ist erdicht," inconveniently located "drey Meyl hinder Weynachten."

Oriental locality of the Fountain described (ll. 8134–8136) as a spring that bubbles up once a year at the foot of a tree :

Une fois ens en l'au, por renovelement,
Se vait chascuns beigner el flore de jovent.

In *Le Roman des aventures de Fregus*, Guillaume le Clerc, a trouvère of the thirteenth century,¹ describes the fountain seen by Fregus as sanative rather than rejuvenating:

En cel bos une fontainne a,
Qui sourdoit devers Oriant,
N'a plus bele, mien essiant,
Dusques en la croix ù Diex fu;
Et si avoit itel vertu
Que nule autre fontainne n'a:
Que nus hom jà tant ne sera
Malades ne mesaiaisiés,
Se il em boit, ne soit haitiés.

A similar reference is found in the *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*,² line 132 ff.:

Roïs Lotaires s'en va a la fontaine droit
Qui devers Oriant² son sorgon enveoit.
La fontaine estoit bele et clere et delitouse; [etc.]
S'est hom qui eüe ait la male erite couse,
S'en front let de cele aigue qui est tant bone couse,
Sempres sera garis, ja n'est tant angoissouse.

All these fountains of youth and life are directly or implicitly derived by the mediæval poets from the Orient, as the last (Swan) legend actually reverts to the Oriental Sintipas.

This geographical relation is clearly indicated in one of the earliest references, found in *Le Bestiaire* of Philipp de Thain:

¹ I cite from the ed. Michel, 1841, p. 133.

² Ed. by Prof. H. A. Todd in the fourth volume of the *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1883–1889. On the significant derivation of Oriant (Orient), see the note by the editor, p. viii. These references to the writings of the trouvères (for which, as I have said, I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague, Professor H. R. Lang), complement those cited by Schmidt, *Die Märchen des Straparola*, who in turn added to those collected by Dunlop, *History of Fiction*. Some further references will be found in the notes to Köhler's *Kleinere Schriften* (see below).

Quant li aigle at ço fait,
 En orient en vait,
 U veit une funtaine,
 Dunt l'ere est clere e saine;
 E tel est sa nature,
 Si cum dit escripture,
 Quant treis feiz est plungiez,
 Dunc est rejuveigniez.¹

To this fountain I shall return later.

The famous Jungbrunnen of the German Heldenbuch lies beyond Constantinople, *über des meres stran* (Wolfdietrich, ii. 335). It is, in its chief features, the typical Fountain of Youth:

336. Si fuorte in in dem lande, den fürsten lobesam,
 für einen berç, dâ westes einen juncbrunnen stan,
 der was einhalb kalt und anderhalbe warm;
 dar in spranc diu froue, si bat sich got bewarn,
 337. Dô wart si getoufet. ê was si rûch Else genannt;
 nu hiez si frou Sigminne, diu schoenste übr alliu lant.
 si het die rûhen hût in den brunnen gelân.
 341. Dô sprach frou Sigminne, 'und wellestu schoene wesen,
 sô sprinc in den brunnen, so bistu wol genesen;
 so wirstu sam ein kindel von zwelf jâren² gar,
 schoen und minniglich'.

But just as the baptism in this extract, preceding the change of name, shows how the Fountain of Youth has become con-

¹ Quant treis faiz se est plunget, dunc se est rejuvened, in Wright's text. Wright sets the date soon after 1121. In Walberg, the lines cited are 2053-2060. The allusion to the Orient seems to belong to the original source (cf. F. M. Mann, in *Anglia*, ix. pp. 407-408).

² This rejuvenation is more complete than is usually considered desirable. From thirty to forty years is the ordinary 'youth,' manly strength, attained by means of the Fountain or otherwise. The Hindu defined a youth (i. e. one of mating age) as from sixteen-twenty to forty-forty-eight years (when 'age' begins). So, according to Gellius, x(xi), 28, the Roman 'junior' continued 'young' till the age of forty-six, when he became a senior. The same indefiniteness in Greek (Xen. Mem. i. 2. 35). Pythagoras makes an artificial distinction between *νεαίλοκος* and *νεαίλας*, giving two decades to each (20-40, 40-60), Diog. Laert., viii. 10. Solon's fifth heptad indicates the 'youth' of the Hindu, together with the chief object of rejuvenation. On the vague meaning of *νέος* in Greek literature, see Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 73.

fused with the Christian water of life, so in lower Teutonic mythology we find an admixture of the two. This is chiefly apparent in the fairy-stories, collections of which are not only subsequent to the propagation of Christianity in Germany and the North, but also subsequent to the famous and wide-spread collection of Straparola, which derives from the East and is initiated by the Tale of the Magical Horse, the "water of life" being here a grotesque accompaniment of a magical dismemberment *à la* Medea. Centuries after this tale was spread through Europe, we find in the Svenska Folksagor, collected by Cavallius and Stephens, in the Märchen collected by the Grimms, in the Slavic fairy-stories collected by Schleicher, in short in Scandinavia, Germany, Lithuania, even in Ireland and Russia,¹ a union of the Fountain of Youth and Water of Life, the two being here but variants of the same theme.

But at an earlier period, old Norse mythology knows nothing of a Fountain of Youth, nor is the German Queckprunno or Jungbrunnen to be understood in this sense till, as in the extract given above, Oriental influence has made itself felt. The Norn's spring of the Edda is a heavenly stream reaching to earth, of so mystic a character that it is not easy to define its nature, and not even of unquestioned Northern purity.² The springs and rivers of the Teutons were often less waters of life than founts of death. Such was the one described by Adam von Bremen, fons ubi sacrificia solent exerceri et homo vivus immergi;³ not for rejuvenation, but (for the same reason that makes the peasant fear the river on Midsummer's Day) because the stream demands a victim.⁴ On the other hand, certain springs were sacred, and the sacred bath was merged with Christian belief at an early date.⁵ But the nearest approach to a Fountain of

¹ Compare Schleicher's *Lit. Märchen*, p. 26; and see also Vogl, cited by Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 185. That Irish tales were influenced by Greek and Roman mythology even before 900 A. D., has been shown by Zimmer, *ZfdA.* xxxii. 196 f.

² The legend of Paradise in the Northern Saga is of course late; cf. Liebrecht on the Odainsakr (Gervasius, *Ot. Imp.*, note p. 63; Saxo Grammat., 'Udensakre'). The 'baby-springs' are not fountains of youth; they only produce children renewed above.

³ Compare Bugge, *Nordische Heldensagen* (Brenner, 1889), p. 532.

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, iii. p. 318, gives illustrations of this wide-spread belief.

⁵ See on this point Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. p. 602.

Youth, in the strict sense, is to be found in those springs which had a beneficent and salutary effect on the health and complexion. At such places one bathed before sunrise, or one collected water at three sacred springs. But here the number alone shows that no one spring was regarded as a rejuvenator in a literal sense, though all were esteemed as medicinally useful.¹ The spring "bi Karnant" in Wolfram's *Parzival* (434) is distinctly an echo of Christian belief and belongs in the same class with the spring in which Wolddietrich was restored. All that is said here of magical water reflects this phase, and the tale otherwise may go back to the Persian original from which the whole poem is derived by Oppert.² The spring of continued life which preserves health for three hundred and three years, three months, three weeks, and three days,³ is taken directly from the forged letter of Prester John (see below), where it says: "de quo fonte si quis . . . gustaverit, ante CCC annos tres menses tres hebdomadas tres dies et tres horas non morietur et erit semper in aetate extremæ juventutis." The perpetual youth of Titurel, who reigned four hundred years, yet always seemed to be forty years old, is due wholly to the power of the mystic Sangreal.

It is then beside the mark when Kuhn compares as Indo-European the Hindu and European youth-springs. But it is more unhistorical when Alberg, in *Old Norse Fairy Tales* (a translation of Cavallius' and Stephen's collection), asserts by way of preface that the 'water of life' found in these tales is "common to the whole Aryan stock." The various versions of the story of the search for the water of life as they appear in Straparola, Grimm, and Cavallius, eventually derive from a single source.⁴ How thoroughly domesticated such tales become,

¹ Compare Grimm, *Myth.*⁴, i. p. 488 and Appendix, p. 167; Simrock, *Deutsche Myth.* § 19. Golther's *Handbuch der Germ. Myth.* does not, I think, allude to this myth.

² Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, 3rd Anhang, p. 196: (Wir) "glauuben . . . Persien als die Heimath jener [Parzival u. Gral] dunkelen Sagen bezeichnen zu dürfen."

³ Mus. für Altdeutsche Literatur und Kunst, i. p. 541. Oppert, *op. cit.* p. 45, compare Rev. xxii. 1.

⁴ For a different origin of the mystic spring (found in Beneoit's *Le Roman de Troie*), *ou nus n'aboivre* ("whence none drinks"), compare Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Here (twelfth century) Paris hunts in India (Inde for Ide, Mt. Ida!) and meets the three goddesses at this spring, which is sacredly remote, but has no further significance.

and how native to the soil they appear to be, may be seen by comparing the tale of *The Baker's Three Daughters*, as recorded by Mrs. Carey in her *Fairy Legends of the French Provinces*. After five or six centuries, the myth, first brought from the Orient and naturalized by the French trouvères, finds expression in an ordinary fairy story, which unites (as in the Teutonic parallels) the water of life and magical apples. What we find in Europe in these stories is the fairy-tale residuum not of old lore derived from remote Aryan ancestors, but of an Oriental myth brought to Europe from the Orient, or rather of two myths, which became united, that of the water of life and that of the Fountain of Youth. In the earliest European form of the fairy-tale, a water of life and revivification is united with the Medea motive. The nearest analogue to Medea's cauldron is the (Keltic) cauldron of Ceridwen, which in turn resembles, in its 'three drops' (seasons?) and its bursting, the famed vessel of the Vedic R̥bhus, who rejuvenated their parents: jívri yúvānā pitārā 'kr̥notana, RV. i. 110. 8 (cf. 3, the division of the vessel, camasá). Elsewhere in Europe, we find the three-brothers story, all evidently of a piece, and all, as Edgar Taylor said, "resembling one of the Arabian Nights," and with good reason, since they have a common origin.

In Straparola's tale of the magical horse, a hawk (in the Orient) fetches the hero a flask of the water of life, which comes from a spring guarded by two lions. The hero himself (although still young) is then beheaded; his chopped up remains are put into a kettle, moulded into the image of a man, and then sprinkled with the water of life. Thereupon the lifeless lump becomes a fine young man again, and the villain of the piece, the Sultan, is tempted to try his own luck. But when killed he remains dead, as the princess gives him no life-water.

The Old Norse story, as given in the Svenska Folk-Sagor, is as follows: A king grown old desires to escape death. He hears of a land of youth "many thousand miles away," where there is a strange kind of water and a priceless apple, and "whoever drinks of the water and eats of those apples will become young again." The king sends first his eldest son to fetch these wondrous treasures, but when the latter has gone away he forgets his mission, being entranced with a life of pleasure in a strange city. So also with the second son. But

the third son, when the others fail to return, and his father has fallen ill from grief and rage, starts out to find the treasures, and aided by three old crones,¹ who rule beasts, birds, and fishes, respectively, he is carried on the back of a whale many thousand miles, to find an enchanted castle, wherein are the water and apples. With these he rejuvenates the old crones, but before reaching his father's city he meets his two brothers, who take from him his treasures, and rejuvenate the king.

The German version (from Hesse, Paderborn, and other places) makes the eldest and second of three sons of an aged king voluntary searchers for the 'water of life,' but they treat rudely a dwarf, who stops their progress. The third son then starts off. He treats the dwarf well and the latter tells him where to find the water, which is guarded by two lions in an enchanted castle. The prince gets the water, releases his brothers from the predicament in which the dwarf had left them, and then starts on a voyage homeward (after passing through various countries). The elder brothers cheat the youngest, as in the Old Norse story, and themselves give the king the water, which cures him, so that he feels strong and well as in his youth. One version has five sons.

In the Irish tale, a king's sight can be restored only by means of a certain spring; or, according to another version, a queen can be restored thus, and each of her three daughters goes after the water (and finds also the frog-lover, who must be decapitated to become a prince—but that is another myth).²

On Slavic soil, there is the Lithuanian tale (in Schleicher's collection) of the king who loses the sight of his eyes. His three sons go for a flask of water, which, however much is poured out, still remains full. The three clever brothers trick

¹ He is passed on from one to the other. This motive occurs in the twenty-fifth tale of the Hindu Kathāsaritsāgara, and has many other parallels.

² "Holy healing wells," says J. F. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, "are common all over the Highlands." In one of these the people bathe (or drink of it) before sunrise on the first Tuesday in June, to cure headache and other ills, and one well restores to life. The Keltic Apple-land, Avalon, or 'Island of Brazil,' is a Land of Youth rather than of rejuvenation. It has the "Avlon apples" as its name imports, ii. 131, 134, 358; iv. 265, 323 (the tale referred to above). For Irish wells, see also *Man*, 1903, p. 76.

the youngest son, as in the versions already referred to, and get for themselves the credit of renewing their father's sight. Among the Russians, one of Ralston's tales is a reproduction of this story of three brothers and rejuvenation.¹

It is clear that these tales are really one, and that like *The Baker's Daughters*, they rest upon the vital search for that water and fountain referred by mediæval writers to the Orient. If this myth had existed in immemorial antiquity, it should have been brought to the fore in the older traditions of Greece, Rome, Germany, and Scandinavia. But in all these Aryan countries there is no real Fountain of Youth (in the Hindu sense), and, till Christian influence has been felt, no water of life, which, on the other hand, as in Straparola, is brought from the Orient as an essential part of a fairy-tale. It is not till European writers are in closer touch with the Orient that they begin to unite the 'water of life' with the Fountain of Youth. There is of course the Greek and Keltic western Paradise, but in the latter it is only modern sagas which makes the aged go thither to obtain youth, and the western Paradise or (later) the eastern Happy Land is after all not an earthly place and has no earthly water.

Of great interest in connection with the duplicate myth of the water of life and the Fountain of Youth is the Wend tradition. The story of the three brothers and the lions' fountain appears here, much as in the German form (Veckenstedt, *Wendische Sagen*, p. 221); but there is no Fountain of Youth, only the "water of life." A very peculiar form appears in another Wend legend given by Karl Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, p. 248.

¹ Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 235. The Russian Skazka is markedly under Oriental influence. In only this one of Ralston's many examples is it said that the water rejuvenates, and in this story the water comes out of a very peculiar fountain, namely a maiden! She is a sort of Brynhild (the same story in Curtiss's *Myth and Folktales of the Russians*, p. 72). Perhaps even here the idea is a reflex of Christian belief in a living fountain "drawn from Immanuel's veins." Otherwise, this special tale agrees closely with the three brothers story (above in the Svenska form); but all the other tales are of "waters of strength and weakness," or of healing, revivifying and destructive power. These waters of 'death and life' act like the double Hindu charms, which heal and revivify. The motive of the different sons, by the way, is not lacking in the Hindu tale of Yayāti (above, p. 3). Here the father asks each of five sons to take age from him and only the last consents.

It furnishes an excellent example of the way in which the idea of the Fountain of Youth, when once known, is adapted to other tales, which originally are devoid of this picturesque element. The completed legend embracing the Fountain is as follows. A girl still wore her virgin's wreath, though she had secretly borne nine children, each of whom she had killed. *For she knew a Fountain of Youth and, bathing in this, recovered on each occasion her youth, beauty, and virginal appearance.* On the tenth occasion, however, *as she was going to the Fountain to bathe again*, an old man discovered the deception, and as she crossed the churchyard the spectres of the murdered children came and killed her; or, according to another version, she simply disappeared:

Nichts weiter war von ihr zu sehen,
Nichts weiter als ihr gelbes Haar.

The special importance of this tale lies in the fact that the Fountain is not an integral part of the legend. For though the modern tale has this feature, as related in the *Sagenbuch*, yet the two songs in Haupt and Schmalers *Volkslieder* know nothing of it! Both the version of Oberlausitz and that of Niederlausitz (*op. cit.*, i. 287 and ii. 149) represent Aria (or her nameless double) as going out on a Sunday morn to fetch water, the impurity of which, though drawn from a pure spring, reveals to the sagacious old man that she is no better than she should be. One version even leaves out the murder; both agree in giving no hint of rejuvenation. Aria deceived, perhaps by hellish arts; for in one version the devil finally carries her away. The Fountain of Youth does not belong to the original tale, which is unquestionably that of the *Volkslied*.

European tradition has in its tales of virtuous wells three elements, the holy well (sacred or prophetic) or the healing well, the two sometimes being united, the well of good things, and the well of the water of life. The last is of Christian origin as far as Europe is concerned. The healing well may even revivify. Thus the English *Gesta Romanorum* contains no case of a rejuvenating well, but it has a well which revives the dead (tale xxv. p. 343, Extra Series, No. xxxiii of the *Early English Texts*). English water also as well as Keltic restores vigor. One case not mentioned in Brand is perhaps worth citing in

full,¹ especially since it is a good example of the difference between the mere spring of recuperation and the spring of rejuvenation. The Brand-Ellis edition of the *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ii. p. 366 ff., gives a list of wells and fountains dedicated to saints and "almost as sanative as the Pool of Bethesda." Thus we find St. Winifride's (Holywell) in Wales, and St. Eustace's in Kent, which cure sickness; a well at Oundle in Northamptonshire, which presages disaster; the Madern well in Cornwall, which gives oracles; and the Wishing-wells at Walsingham; while fountains or wells are worshipped, as they are in Greece, Rome, Germany, etc., and circumambulated, as they are in India. Thus the Lochsiant well in Skie is believed to be a specific for several diseases. "The common people make the ordinary tour about it, called *dessil*, which is performed thus: they move thrice around the well, proceeding sun-ways, from east to west, and so on." But of all those mentioned not one is credited with the power of restoring youth. It is also, as far as I know, impossible to find an original case of rejuvenation by means of a fountain not situated either in the Orient or in some magic land, such as that affected by the writers of romance. An example of the latter case is probably shown in the following, to which Professor Lang has kindly called my attention.

In Cancionero de Baena's collection (Madrid, 1851) of Castilian court poetry (composed between 1350 and 1450), there is a stanza in a poem of Fray Diego de Valencia (1380-1410), which refers to a fountain, in which if one bathes one becomes agreeably changed, in a way perhaps indicating rejuvenation. Such at least appears to be the implication in the statement that "sweetness deceives" the bather, coupled with the words "perennial" and "very strange" in the description of the stream (fountain, river) of the mountain-garden (No. 505, 2):

¹ In Britannia majore, episcopatu Conventrensi et comitatu de Staford, ad radicem montis, cui Mahul indigenae nomen indiderunt, est aqua in modum paludis amplae diffusa, in territorio villae, quam Magdaleam dicunt. In hac palude aqua est limpidissima et sylvae infinitae continua, quae tantam habet in resumendis corporum viribus efficaciam, quod quoties venatores cervos aliasve feras insecuti fuerunt usque ad equorum lassitudinem, si in ipso aestuantis solis ardore aquam gustaverint ac equis exposuerint hauriendam, sic amissas currendi vires reparant, quod non cucurrisse dietam sed vix attigisse iam coeptam arbitreris. Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 974.

En muy espesa montaña
 Este vergel fue plantado,
 De todas partes cercado,
 De rybera muy estraña.
 Al que una vez se baña
 En sa fuente perenal,
 Segun curso natural,
 Ha dulçuro lo engaña.

In several particulars the tale of the three brothers and their search as told in Europe coincides with features found in the Arabian Nights and later Persian romances. Thus the enchanted horse of Straparola (and Chaucer), the search for some restorative, the lions that guard a wondrous fountain, are such features. The German version (above) bears the closest resemblance to the tale of Ahmad, but in the latter the lions' fountain has only revivifying power. The Irish tale again, and the Lithuanian tale in Schleicher's collection, are like that of the *gul-i-Bakáwalí* and the story of Hatim Tai, as told in Clauston's *Eastern Romances*. But the restoratives are here a rose and a drop of the tree Nandar in Zulmát ("the region of darkness, where is also the water of life"; Clauston, p. 520). To these may be added, from the Nights, the story of Parizadeh and her search for the "golden water," which is never exhausted. There are here three searchers, of whom the last alone is successful, and the water, which is on the summit of a mountain, can restore to life those who have been transformed into rocks. This whole tale appears, with local modifications, as a native (Keltic?) French fairy story (*The Baker's Daughters*), with the singing water, talking bird, and magic apple all represented. From these parallels may be drawn the conclusion that the frame of the European story reverts to the Arabian version or that they both have a common origin.¹ But within this frame there is

¹ The Persian version substitutes for three brothers two brothers and a sister; the Keltic version turns all three into girls. Elsewhere the three are brothers, the trio still preserved, perhaps, in the numerous American families (of eight or nine generations) who independently trace their origin to "three brothers who came to America in the seventeenth century to seek their fortune." How widespread this myth is, may easily be learned by casual inquiry. I once sat at table with half a dozen unrelated people, four of whom stated that this was their "family legend." Of the four, three admitted that it was a legend without historical foundation, "a myth"; one insisted that it was "certain."

this difference, that in no one of the analogous Arabian (Persian) tales is there to be found a Fountain of Youth. The water revivifies, revitalizes, it is curative (like the rose, etc.), but it does not rejuvenate. This element in the tale cannot, therefore, have come from the Arabian Nights.

On the other hand, the "water of life," while thoroughly Semitic, was at an early date associated with the vague land called 'India' (see below), and for this reason, in the combination of the two myths, India is usually the land where is located the "Fountain of Youth from Paradise." This European idea starts with the patristic identification of one of the rivers in Paradise with a river of 'India,' logically resulting in the location of the water of life in the same country and romantically continuing with the tale of Alexander. There were already two Rabbinical legends on the same theme. Elias found this water of life and in consequence he still lives on earth.¹ Solomon also procured the water and might have been alive now, but he refused to drink it, preferring to die rather than outlive his female favorites.²

After these tales (probably before the tenth century), came to Europe the story of Alexander's visit to India, long before known in the Middle East. According to this tradition, Alexander went to India to search for the water of life and found there apples, the eating of which gave the Hindus a life of four hundred years: *haec arbores poma faciunt, quorum esu sacerdotes illarum quadringentis annis vivunt*. Gervasius, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 895. This latter statement has no support in native tradition and is probably due either to the tale of Avalon (such apples, not to speak of the Greek, being native to Keltic and Teutonic mythology) or to Semitic belief. The panacean apple, for example, is an element in the tale of Ahmad in the Arabian Nights. But Alexander's quest for the water of life is rather an incident of his journey, and, as related in some of the versions (cf. Budge, *Alexander the Great*, p. 93), the king is amazed that anyone should ask for immortality. So the Latin

¹ Compare the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. India has a modern counterpart to this in the story of Munisidh, a great saint of the sixteenth century, who, rather than live under Moslem rule, retired to a cave in Dholpur, where he still hides himself. *Raj. Gaz.* i. 267.

² Clauston, *Eastern Romances*, p. 520.

and Middle English versions expand this text into a homily, though according to the poem of Jacob of Serûg (see below) Alexander, once on the ground, did try to find the fountain which had revived the dead fish. In the *ad Arist. de rebus Indiae mirabilibus epistola*, Alexander visits the two prophetic trees of the sun and moon, which speak Sanskrit and Greek, *utraque lingua solis arbor pronunciat futura; lunae graeco sermone incipit indico finit* (*The Wars of Alexander*, 5009, says of the sun-tree that it ‘entris in with yndoyes & endis in greke’);¹ but when the hermits ask him to give them immortal life (‘sire, nevire to dee, quod thai then, bot evire dure o lyve’) he stoutly maintains, ‘Be driztin, sirs I am a duke dedelike myself’. The priests say, 4284, ‘For thar leves no lede in oure lande langire than othire. If he be sexti yere of sowme that a segge lastis, His successoure has bot the same’. It is beyond India where is found the *terra quam mors nulla tentavit*; cf. *Wars*, 5503, where Alexander finds an island when he comes “to the oceyan at the erthes ende.” In *Alexander and Dindimus*, 138 (as in early theological literature), Phison is identified with the Ganges “from perlese Paradis,” and the island in the extreme Orient is itself Paradise, the *Paradisus insula in oceano in oriente* of Lambertus Floridus (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, i. p. 253), which made it so natural to describe Bimini and Florida as islands; though the general idea of an island of felicity is as old as Plato, and the “happy isle” of Socotra (near India) had long been known.³

¹ Talking trees are not yet out of fashion. The State of Kentucky (as I learn from the N. Y. Times of Feb. 6, 1905) has such a wonder: “The voice (emanating from the tree) can be distinctly heard, and says ‘there are treasures buried at my roots.’” The people are too frightened to dig for the treasure! On the connection between the Sun-tree and the *arbre sec*, see Col. Yule’s notes to Marco Polo, i. p. 137.

² The Phison of Paradise is identified now with the Ganges (Pseudo-Kallisthenes), now with the Indus (Kosmas Indikopleustes, ii. p. 117, sixth century).

³ For the various versions of the Alexander-myth, see Budge, *op. cit.*; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderrömanes*; and M. Gaster, JRAS., 1897, p. 530 (on a Hebrew version). In the last account, a man who has drunk of the water of life is not rejuvenated, but he becomes so immortal that when beheaded he still lives as a “headless man of the sea.”

From the vague 'Orient' as home of the Fountain, the *Voiage and Travails* of Sir John Mandeville leads us to this more definite locality. He places the Fountain in India (identifying it with the water of Paradise), only ten days journey from the place where St. Thomas' church was to be found. Here the "Lond of Lomb" has a great mountain¹ above the city of "Polumbe," and at the foot of this mount (he says) "is a fayr Welle and a gret, that hath odour and savour of alle Spices; and at every hour of the day, he changethe his odour and his savour dyversely. And whoso drynkethe 3 tymes fasting of that Watre of that Welle, he is hool of alle maner sykenesse, that he hathe. And thei that duellen there and drynken often of that Welle, thei never han sykenesse, and thei semen alle weys yong. I have dronken thereof 3 or 4 sithes, and yit, methinkethe, I fare the better. Sum men clepen it the Welle of Youthe: for thei that often drynken there of, semen alle ways yongly, and lyven withouten Sykenesse. And men seyn, that that Welle comethe out of Paradys: and therefore it is so vertuous." But if this dates from the fourteenth century, it is but an expansion of what was taught in the twelfth, although neither William of Boldensele nor Friar Odoric of Pordenone (b. 1286, d. 1331), whose works are supposed to be the source of the romance of Sir John's,² mentions a Fountain of Youth. For the famous letter of Prester John (in regard to whom Sir John has much to say) narrates (c. 1160-1165) that the "river Indus" encircles Paradise, and that in this India at the foot of Mt. Olympus (i. e. Alumbo, Sir John's Polumbe) there is, only three days' journey from Paradise, a spring, threefold tasting

¹ The great mountain is an essential part of the description, as Paradise, from which comes the fountain, is located at the top of a mountain, which, according to some writers, rose to the moon, an opinion stigmatized (I am pleased to see) as a manifest figment by the judicious Johannes Hopkinsonius. See the note to Yule's *Cathay*, ii. p. 326. Polumbe or Columbus is Kulam on the S. Indian coast, in Yule's opinion. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, p. 55, derives the name from Colombo in Ceylon.

² Yule says that "the substance of his travels to the Indies and Cathay is entirely stolen from Odoric, though largely amplified with fables from Pliny and other ancients, as well as from his own imagination." *Cathay*, i. p. 27.

of which restores vigor and makes one as long as life lasts like a man of thirty.¹

Whether India was the real source of the story, I shall inquire presently. But first, to finish with the Occident: Ponce de Leon was certainly not ignorant of this phase of the widespread myth, which placed the Fountain of Youth in India. He set out for the West Indies² in the belief that he was going to India by way of the Occident. That he went for the purpose of discovering the Fountain is not susceptible of proof. On the contrary, modern historians are inclined to think that, like others of his time, he journeyed primarily for gold and glory.³ But, hearing of the medicinal and healing spring of Florida, he naturally interpreted it in the light of his previous knowledge as being the Fount of Youth. Even Peter Martyr, who took the same view, gives us an account which shows

¹ Si quis de illo fonte ter gustaverit, nullam infirmitatem illa die patietur semperque erit quasi triginta annorum quamdiu vixerit. A popular account of this letter is given by Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, i. p. 252. The Latin text is contained in the valuable historical essay of Gustav Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*. The letter mentions other wonderful springs besides that of rejuvenation. Compare the one in the palace at "Brichbrich," which Oppert thinks, p. 48, may be the Punjab, where, as will be seen, arose the myth of the Fountain. This fountain recuperates and gives the effect of having provided food. So in the native Hindu tradition the fountain supplies food (see p. 50). There is also a river of jewels, like that in the Sindbad story, from which Oppert derives it.

² Indies (plural) implies the various Indies of India itself. As India and Ethiopia were confounded by classic writers, so in the middle ages there was the 'India minor quae est Ethiopia.' To Marco Polo, 'middle India' was Abyssinia. The word India itself in 800 A. D. comprised the whole world outside of Europe and Africa, and later travellers made 'India minor' extend from Persia to the Indus (or to Malabar); 'India major' from 'minor' to the end of the world (or to the Ganges); while 'India tertia' was 'Zanjibar' (or China), according to varied interpretations. For authorities, see Sir Henry Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 419.

³ Compare Professor Bourne's *Spain in America* (*The Am. Nation*, vol. 3), p. 134, as to Ponce de Leon's voyage being undertaken to verify the Indian tradition: "Of this there is no hint in the patent." So Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States*, p. 159: "It is certainly remarkable that, in direct contradiction to the gossip of the time, which has survived to our day, and which ascribed his first expedition to a search for the fountain of perpetual youth, his patents and grants make no mention of it."

plainly that the spring was rather a source of strength than of youth. As reference to the subject is generally made only to the passage in the tenth chapter of the second decade, it will be necessary to compare this with the further account in the seventh decade. The former passage is as follows :¹ “There is an ilande named Boiuca or Agnaneo, as they say which have searched the same, in which is a continual sprynge of runnyng water of such marvelous vertue, that the water thereof beinge dronk, perhappes with sume dyete, maketh owld men younge ageyne.” It is to be remarked that the dietary addition is not in the other version of the same passage of Peter Martyr, where the Latin has only *ut ejus fontis aqua epota senes reiuvenescat*. This is the passage commonly cited, for example by Brinton, in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* (1859), and by Harris, in his *Discovery of North America*. But it is worth while to set beside this the narrative of the islander “greivously oppressed with old age” in the later description:² “He went from his native ilande neere unto the country of Florida, to drinke of the desired fountaine, as our countrimen doe from Rome or Naples to the Puteolane bathes, for the recovery of their health. Hee went and stayed and havinge well drunke and washed himselfe for many dayes, with the appointed remedies by them who kept the bathe, hee is reported to have brought home a manly strength, and to have used all manly exercises, and that hee married againe, and begatt children.”

This is not, therefore, a true Fountain of Youth, but a sulphur spring or something of that sort, where one undergoes a regular treatment at the hands of attendants at the bath, and having stayed a considerable time, drinking and bathing in the water according to a prescribed regimen, returns home and feels himself a man again; which might be said of many medicinal springs, either in sober earnest or in exaggerated form, without a concomitant belief in the youth-restoring virtues of the water. In the confusion of names³ there seems really to have been but

¹ Peter Martyr, in Hakluyt, vol. v. (Englished by Yok, 1597).

² Dec. 7, cap. 7.

³ Boiuca, Bonica, Agnaneo, and Beniny or Bimini or Bimani (the ‘island’ where the fountain was situated). Lucaya, in the following account, is the Bahama Islands.

one fountain intended to represent the Fountain of Youth, while others are admitted to be only medicinal springs.¹

Of the two New World cases referred to by Del Rio,² one is certainly in this category: *Lusitanicae historiae recentiores scriptores, fidei probatissimae, commemorant longa narratione et certa cuidam Indo Nobili, annorum quibus vixit trecentorum, et quadraginta spacio, iuventae florem ter exaruisse, et ter refluoruisse.*³ Nec desunt, qui in eodem orbe novo quādam

¹ There are at present two springs in Florida alone, each of which claims to be the real Fountain of Youth sought by Ponce de Leon. One of these is the famous Silver Spring (a few miles from Ocala), best described by Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*. The other is the Green Cove spring on the St. John. Only the latter is a mineral (sulphur) spring. How long the tradition of a life-giving spring has retained its hold on the Indians is illustrated by the statement of J. T. Sprague (*Hist. of the Florida War*, p. 328), cited by Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 135, that Coacooche, the Seminole chief, who died in 1841, dreamed he had drunk a cup of water "from the spring of the Great Spirit," which would make him "live forever." As an item in the history of this legend, I may add that just before the civil war my father spent the winter in the South and, according to family tradition, I was myself, with affectation of ceremony, bathed in one of the Floridian Fountains of Youth, presumably as a prophylactic, since I was then "of greener age" than the usual subject of this experiment.

² *Disquisitiones magicae*, lib. ii. quaestio xxiii (An possit daemon seni iuventam reddere?), Venetiis (1616, p. 192).

³ The classical authorities for the long life of the Hindus (see below, note, p. 29) are here reinforced by a more recent case, a reference to which is given by Del Rio in his notes. Peter Maffei, *Hist. ind.*, lib. vndec., says: *Quidam è Gangaridum gente, quam hodie Bengalam vocant, ad Praetorem adiit, natus, vt ferebatur, annos trecentos triginta quinque, etc.* For other cases, Del Rio refers to Ferd. Castannedali lib. 8 (presumably Lopes de Castanheda's *History of the Conquest of India*, which I have not at hand). The thrice repeated rejuvenation mentioned by Del Rio may possibly revert to the *triyāyusa* or "three life-time" myth of the Hindus themselves, AV. v. 28. 7; JUB. iv. 3. 1, etc. Two seers and the gods enjoy "three-age" life, somewhat lamely explained by the native commentators as a life of three stages, childhood, youth, and age. The two seers in the Atharvan are Jamadagni and Kaśyapa. In TBr. iii. 10. 11. 3 ff., cited above, Bharadvāja also has lived 'three life-times,' when Indra offers him a fourth. The natural interpretation of *triyāyusa* (*tryāyusa*) applied to man would be "having three (normal) life-periods," or living through three generations, and in this sense it would be merely a counterpart of Laevius' 'trisaeclesenex,' applied to Nestor (Gell. xix. 7). Very probably this was the original application ;

insulam repertam testentur: Bonicam nomine, in qua fons scaturiat, cuius aqua, vino preciosior, pota senium cum iuvēta commutet: quamvis de simili in Lucaya fonte narrationem ortam ex regionis situ salubriore non immeritò conijciat Petr. Chieza par. 2. hist. Peru. c. 41. verum sive in Bonica, sive in Lucaya, sive utrobique talis fons manat, facile video, quam haec nonnullis incredibilia videantur: sed illi cogitent: huiusmodi narrationibus, à quibus rectae Philosophiae ratio non abhorreat, quia ipse nihil tale videris, fidem detrahare, singularis esse proterviae, et impudentiae: qui verò quid ubique gestum fuerit, vel non fuerit, id de sua duntaxat opinione, aut assensione decernunt, insaniae assidere.

Even in the first account of Peter Martyr, the expression "maketh owld men younge ageyne," though intended here as a literal statement, may remind us that such a phrase can be used when the effect is merely that of invigoration. Very likely the fount of rejuvenation arises in some cases, such, for example, as that of the Jugendbrunnen near Görlitz, from a literal interpretation of what was at first meant to be taken metaphorically. A good example of (metaphorical) rejuvenation is furnished by the account of the "Beer-brewing" in the Kalevala, when it is said: "The beer of Kalevala strengthens the weak, cheers the sick, and makes the old young again."

That the native report of the spring which healed after sufficient time and regular bathing was taken up by the early discoverers, who had long heard of the Fountain of Youth and thought that they were at last in the proper place to find it, there can be no doubt. But as little doubt, perhaps, that the Spanish interpretation gave virtue to the spring, intensifying its properties to a greater degree than was dreamed of in the philosophy of the Redskin. It is not without significance that

but Hindu tales are not lacking in which a man lives three life-times literally, being reborn and living a normal period again in threefold life (of one generation each). Thus the Abbé Dubois says he has read "in some Indian book" of a Brahman and his wife who were both reborn in this way: "In the enjoyment of abundant riches, and of all the gifts that nature can bestow, they saw three generations pass away, being reborn each time they reached the ordinary term of human life." *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, i. p. 250 (Dubois and Beauchamp). So, in Arabian legend, St. George died thrice and thrice rose from the dead (Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, i. p. 105).

although magical rejuvenation is not unknown, yet, on the whole continent, dotted as it is with mineral springs, the idea of any one of these being a Fountain of Youth, in the Oriental sense of a spring giving immediate rejuvenation, appears only there where the Spanish gave their own interpretation to native belief.¹

Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, ed. 1831, i. p. 120) alludes to the traditions "so circumstantially detailed by the natives of some of the islands of the Pacific, especially in the Hawaiian account of the voyage of Kamapiikai, to the land where the inhabitants enjoyed perpetual health and youthful beauty, where the *wai ora* (life-giving fountain) removed every internal malady, and external deformity and decrepitude, from all those who were plunged beneath its salutary waters."

¹ What Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 89, says of Columbus, "fired by the hope of discovering" in America a "terrestrial paradise," may be offset by the further statement that this "was but another rendering of the same belief" that located El Dorado in Orinoko. Also the Garden of Eden "still to the West, in Paria," of which Columbus heard, implies no myth of rejuvenation. De Soto also, in Brinton's opinion, struck west (to Arizona) with the magic fountain as his chief objective. But, despite the Ozarks, there is no western tradition of the fountain-myth. The nearest approach to a rejuvenating body of water known to me in America besides Bimini (Brinton's other examples are merely baths for health or holy baptismal waters) is the Atagâhi lake, lying between North Carolina and Tennessee. This is an enchanted invisible lake in which, according to the Cherokee legend, wounded beasts may immerse themselves and cure their wounds. But no man can see it (J. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, p. 322, in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1900). I have searched vainly for any parallel to the myth through the legends of the Navahos, Thompson River Indians, Micmacs, and Californians, as well as those of the Northwest; as given in the *Memoirs of the Folk-Lore Society*, and by Rand, Leland, Boas, and Petitot, respectively. Matthews' collection (from Schoolcraft) has nothing on this point, nor have Grinnell's tales (of the Pawnee and Blackfoot tribes); though we find allusions to a drink which teaches one to see "the truth of things as they are" (tale of 'Toad-woman' in Matthews), and rejuvenation by means of magic food, the Grizzle's medicine, and by spiritual influences (in 'The Red Swan,' 'The Son of the Evening Star'). Thus, 'Nothing Child' is rejuvenated into an infant on eating his own lodge and becomes a man again on ejecting this peculiar food, etc. Brinton evidently knew of no parallel, or he would have cited it in his two disquisitions on this subject. For the Ozark legend, see p. 51 and p. 57, note.

This is cited by Brinton in his *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula* in proof of his contention that the myth of the Fountain of Youth (or life, he does not distinguish them) is one of the universal myths, due to primitive veneration for water as the female element. Ellis himself compares the account of Mandeville and the story of "Binini," but he is inclined to think the Polynesian fable is borrowed, either from India (through the Malays) or from America. The *wai ora*, however, is not really comparable with the Fountain of Youth. The function of this fount is not to restore youth to the aged on earth, but to remove sickness and weakness and make immortal in an unearthly paradise, which in Polynesia bears the same relation to the earth ordinarily habitable for mortals as do in India the Land of the Northern Kurus,¹ in China the Islands of Immortals in the ocean, and in Greece the land of the blessed Hyperboreans, where, as Pindar says,

νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ.

The Polynesians also have "apples of healing," as recorded by Gill in his *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, but they are only for the gods. The *wai ora* idea may derive neither from India nor from America but from the missionaries! With a people of so imaginative and poetic a mythology as the Polynesians, it would not be strange if such a striking figure as

¹ The Northern Kurus live for "ten thousand and ten hundred years," in a land of perpetual bloom, where they drink "ambrosia-like milk of the milk-trees," and are ever free from illness (Mbh. vi. 7. 1 f.). They are referred to by Megasthenes, Strabo, xv. 57, etc. The paradise of Yama-Yima was originally of the same character, having "imperishable food" for people "free from dying," who remain always youths "without age or death," Yasna, ix. 4-5. The waters, duly worshipped, grant to the Mazdayasnian glory, long life, and heaven; also they are medicinal, Yasna, lxvii(i), and li(i), but they do not confer renewed youth. At a late date, Albîrûnî says (Sachau, *Chronology*, p. 209): "All the Persians agree that Bêvarasp lived 1,000 years, although some of them say that he lived longer, and that the 1,000 years are only the time of his rule and tyranny. People think that the Persian mode of salutation, according to which the one wishes the other to live as long as 1,000 years—I mean the words *Hazâr sâl bazi*—comes down from that time, because they thought it was allowed and possible (that a man should live 1,000 years)." Even Feridun lived 500 years!

the water of life were transformed into (*wai ora*) ambrosia, partaken of by the blessed of old in an unknown earthly paradise. The myth seems to be quite unknown save to Ellis himself, and Gill says expressly (p. 166) that the Avaiki myth of the first men coming from the 'down-land,' Avaiki (the spirit-world, underworld), has been changed to the myth of an earthly paradise 'down,' in the West, "since the introduction of Christianity." The heaven or paradise of the Polynesians generally is in the sky in the case of brave warriors, but the ordinary dead go below (and even heaven is beneath the sea in Samoa); while it is from the underworld that their ancestors came. So Veētini, the "first mortal who ever died a natural death," goes "down to nether-land," with the setting sun, the "true home of the major divinities" (Gill, pp. 32, 181). Gill himself (p. 5) says that the 'sacred isle' is in the shades (below earth).

It is scarcely worth while to pursue the fleeing Fountain through such other wilds as had been more or less exposed to Muhammadan and Christian influence prior to the announcement that the water of life or a 'fountain' of youth was discovered there. In the case of the queer "fountain" cited by Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 207, from Bickmore's *Travels in the East India Archipelago*, p. 297, the "fountain" (of Buru, one of the Molucca islands) is "a plant, which possesses the wondrous power of making every one who holds it in his hands young again." This plant, to be sure, grows beside a mountain lake; but a plant that rejuvenates when held in the hand can scarcely be called a Fountain of Youth. The nativity of the tale is dubious (though offered as an example of native legends), since Buru was under foreign influence.

In China, the river of life is only a reflex of the Occidental tales concerning Cathay. According to Ibn Batuta, the river of life discharges itself into the sea at Canton. He saw there (in 1347) a man over two hundred years old and says that "at Sinkalan (Canton) the river called the water of life discharges itself into the sea at a place which they call the confluence of the seas."¹ The old man, it appears, was a Hindu whom The

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, ii. pp. 488, 490. China and Japan had fruits and isles of youth (Lie-tsz, c. 400 B. C.), but no Fount of Youth. Cf. Edkins, *China Review*, xiii. 411; Williams, *Smithson. Rep.*, 1900, p. 590. The Chinese themselves sought in India the 'elixir of life.'

Traveller had previously met on the western coast of India.¹

¹ Yule, *loc. cit.*, remarks on the longevity of Muhammadan saints; but those cases cited are all of India or near it (the Hindu Kush, Herat, etc.). One lived for three hundred and fifty years; another, Shah Madar (a Hindu), was born A. D. 1050 and died in 1433. But that is a mere bagatelle. Once, "when Rāma was king," he got the gods to restore life to a Brahman boy: "He was dead, the boy, a mere child; he had not yet reached middle age, he was only five thousand years old; untimely had he died, to his father's great woe, the little son," R. vii. 73. 1-5. For in the (recurrent) golden age of the Hindus man lives 10,000 years, and only gradually comes to shortened existence. Rāma, at the beginning of the second (Tretā) age, lived eleven thousand, and Sagara, thirty thousand years, R. i. 41; vii. 51. Since 'Ethiopians' and 'Indians' are not very clearly distinguished, it is worth noting that though Herodotus says that the 'Padaean' Indians do not generally live to old age (being cut off in their prime), he speaks of a fountain which causes the Ethiopians to live to the age of 120 (iii. 23, 99; he cites one native case nearer home of a man who lived to the age of 150, as if it were quite credible, i. 163). The fountain resembles the one described by Ktesias (see below) as being in India. Ktesias himself (B. C. 398) gives 120, 130, and 150 as usual ages of the Hindus, but "the very old live to 200" (Arrian, *cit.*, *Ind. Ant.*, x. p. 300). This was also a trait of all Utopias. For example, in that of Iamboulos, the inhabitants live (as do those of Ceylon in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes) to the age of 150 (Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 203, note 5; 229). Lassen thinks that this Utopia is really Ceylon (or Bali). Important is the fact that in none of these Utopias is there rejuvenation. On the contrary, when old age arrives the Utopians kill themselves by means of a plant which gives an easy death. Thus Onesikritos, who sets the age of some of the Hindus as 130 (one of Isigonos' 'incredibilia' also, if the statement comes from the Apista, is that the Indian Cyrni live to 140), reports that these Hindus do not suffer from age, but "die as if they were of middle life" (ut medio aevo mori), Pliny, vii. 2; Strabo, xv. 34. Dion Chrysostom (Orat. xxxv. 434) expresses this clearly in saying that the Hindu life-time is never less than forty years and "for all this time they are in the bloom of youth and they know neither old age, nor disease, nor want." The "wonderful fountain" extolled by Dion in the next paragraph is not one of rejuvenation but the fountain of truth or probation (ordeal). One hundred years was as long as the Vedic Hindus usually prayed to live, śate śaratsu no purā, AV. xviii. 2. 38. The Seres are said by Strabo to live even longer than the Hindus, namely, "more than 200 years" (*loc. cit.* and *ib.* 37). It is curious that the Greek and Latin authors should have made so much of the age of the Hindus, when they had their own long list of centenarians, and men who lived to the age of 120 (a very possible tradition) and 150, not to speak of the Sibyl of a thousand years of age (as given in Phlegon), which was the regular age of the ancients (Hellanikos, Fr. 89), while the

A land beyond Cathay where one never grows older is recognized (as a fabulous country) by Rubruquis in 1253.¹

In Africa, there is a tradition of the revivifying waters of an earthly Paradise among the Masai people in the steppes east of the Kilimandsharo; but whether, as Col. Merker believes, these people are of Semitic origin, or whether they have received their belief from the Arabs, the views themselves are too clearly Semitic to pass as an addition to the store of myths on this subject.

Thus far the Fountain has been traced in general to the Orient, where it was located by the trouvères, and in particular to India, where it was located in the twelfth century by the letter ascribed to Prester John. It is thus placed in the same vague longitude as the "happy land," which in the fourth century A. D. was still supposed by the author of an *Expositio totius mundi* to be in the extreme Orient, where was the earlier Utopia of Iamboulos.² This was, indeed, to be expected. Where the Terrestrial Paradise was located and the Utopias of antiquity and of the dark ages had been imagined, would naturally be the home of the Fountain. But the means of communication in the case of this particular story would neither be the

Epirotes lived 200 years (Val. Max. and Pliny). The belief in Hindu longevity was doubtless founded on such actual examples of old age as even in this day excite the wonder of the Occidental who sees a Hindu surrounded by great-great-grandchildren. Some even claim a tritavian age, but without any tangible proof. The ignorant Irish and negroes, who boast of similar ages and are cited in every newspaper to-day, form a parallel. Thus Mary McDonald was reported by the N. Y. press as "aged 134" on Nov. 12, 1904, the date of birth being "on record." A striking parallel to Greek belief is offered by the combined efforts of Lord Bacon and Mr. Whitehurst. They gravely repeat the tale of Marcus Aponius of Rimino, who in 76 A. D. was still alive at the age of 150. He lived in the favored region between the Apennine Mts. and the Po, where, at the same date, there were four men of 135-137, three of 140 years, etc. Let us add the case of Dumiter Radaly, who died Jan. 16, 1782, aet. 140; of Thomas Parre, d. Nov. 16, 1635, aet. 152; and above all of that renowned Henry Jenkins, "whose term of longevity is on authentic record" as 169 years, the same being of Yorkshire and dying Dec. 8, 1670, "the oldest man born upon the ruins of this post-diluvian world" (Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, i. p. 384),—and mock no more at the credulous Phlegon's list or the classical writers cited in Lassen, i². p. 613.

¹ Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. cxxxvi.

² Rodhe, p. 240. Iamboulos' date is uncertain, "before the time of Augustus," Rohde says.

tales of Sindbad the Sailor, as Oppert¹ thinks, nor "the Moors," as a recent writer maintained;² still less the general "folk-lore" of John Fiske.³ There remain, however, other possibilities. First as to the Nestorians, who were well acquainted with India. From them, in all probability, came the letters of Prester John about 1165. Second, a still more direct means of communication, the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were in India in the thirteenth century. They even had a Bishop there whose see covered the very province where the Fountain was supposed to be. But I hesitate to believe that the latter means of communication is the true one, for this reason. The good missionaries held that the Terrestrial Paradise was in India and indeed spent much labor in trying to find it there.⁴ But though they tell of all sorts of marvels, they have nothing to say of a Fountain of Youth. The most notable example of this is the *Mirabilia* of Friar Jordanus, in which, like an ancient Greek, he has stored up all the wonders known to him. Thus he tells of magic water and a healing tree, but not a word does he say of rejuvenation.⁵ So too Friar Marignolli (*ap.* Yule; c. 1328), who locates Paradise near Ceylon, knows nothing of this myth; nor does Friar Odoric (above).

Moreover, the European story antedates the accounts of the missionaries.⁶ Whether the idea of the Hindu fountain was first

¹ Oppert, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 55, believes that the letter of Prester John was taken bodily from the Arabian Nights. But exactly the tale of the Fountain of Youth is not found in the story of Sindbad's voyage to Ceylon, to which Oppert particularly refers. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, the myth is unknown to the rest of the Nights and to other Persian sources of 'wonders of the East' (see below).

² Hanauer, *Tales told in Palestine*, p. 83, and note 28, apropos of "El-Khudr" as a local saint, who (the author says) is represented as having discovered "the fountain of eternal youth" (read, 'water of life').

³ Fiske, *Discovery of America*, ii. p. 485.

⁴ Thus in 1291 a missionary of North India quoted by Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. 213, says that he has inquired and sought much for the Terrestrial Paradise, but has not found it.

⁵ The water turns base metal into gold. The leaves of the tree heal every wound. The tree stands in the water. Jordanus locates the rivers of Paradise in India *tertia*, i. e. Africa south of Abyssinia. He wrote about 1321. Cf. Yule's edition, pp. 29 and 43.

⁶ That is, of the Catholic missionaries. How long, on the other hand, Nestorian missionaries had been active in India, may be judged not only from the report of St. Thomas' labors and church in India, but

brought by the Crusaders remains problematical. It was the letter of Prester John which first, apparently, applied the conception of a rejuvenating fountain in India to man. This letter by thus applying the idea of the Fountain gathered, as it were, into one all the separate strands of thought already familiar from (a) the belief in "India" being the place where was situated Paradise and its river Phison (Indus or Ganges); (b) the belief that to obtain immortality one must drink or bathe in the river of Paradise; (c) the concurrent belief in bathing as a cure of disease. The letter itself presents a combination of views. The Fountain comes from Paradise; it is quaffed; it restores youth; but it does not ostensibly give immortality; certainly not in Mandeville, though it is probable that in the Nestorian letter it was introduced with implicit reference to the identification of Prester John with John the Apostle (ὁ πρεσβύτερος), concerning whose supposed immortality legends were not lacking.¹

Here, however, I must allude to one other possibility. This is that mediæval medical writers, who were acquainted (through the Arabs) with Hindu medicine, may have suggested the notion of a medical cure-all, such as the Fountain practically was. We know indeed that the Hindu authorities (the chief are Caraka and Suśruta of the first and fourth centuries, A.D., respectively) are "repeatedly mentioned in the Latin translations of the Arab writers"; but the works of the Hindu writers do not bear out the suggestion that they recommend any such easy means of practice. Caraka says distinctly (iv. 60), "If we could get any one thing (remedy) possessed of such virtues as to be efficacious for all cases, who would wish to remember or teach any other?" Suśruta says nothing of the possibility of rejuvenation by means of a bath, though he knows many drugs efficacious in prolonging life for hundreds of years. But these are all elixirs to be taken "before sunrise," etc., or constantly,

also from the precise and reliable statements of Kosmas Indikopleustes in the sixth century. He says, iii. p. 169: "Even in Taprobane (Ceylon) there is a church of Christians with clergy and a body of believers . . . In Male, the country where pepper grows, there is also a church, and at another place called Kalliana [near Bombay] there is, moreover, a bishop who is appointed from Persia." The Muhammadans were well established in Ceylon by 700 (Devic, *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. xviii).

¹ Compare Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 230.

² Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 427.

as a regular dose.¹ In *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (Yule, ii. p. 351) we read that the 'Chughi' (Yogins) of India live to the age of 150 to 200 years by means of a mixture of sulphur and quick-silver taken from childhood; but Marco, too, says nothing of rejuvenation. Such drugs were neither magical, like Medea's, nor mythical, like the Fountain. They were in daily use as a therapeutic remedy, comparable with those soberly administered by our mediæval alchemists.

I am therefore inclined to regard India as the home of the European fable, but to consider the fable as brought thence not by the Arabs but by the early Nestorians through whom it might have reached Syria. The earliest Arabian travellers (four hundred years before Marco Polo) have nothing to say of the fountain, though they have some important remarks revealing familiarity with Hindu legends. In Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde* (previous to the eleventh century) there is a very good summary of certain Hindu myths and stories, told with considerable detail; and in the famous accounts of the two Arabian travellers in the ninth century it is said (speaking of a remarkable occurrence in India), "In our time these facts are very generally known; for this part of the Indies is in the neighborhood of the country of the Arabs and we hear from them every day" (Reinaud, "nous avons continuellement des nouvelles de cette contrée). Further, at the end of the second account, the words

¹ Compare the chapter on therapeutics, *Cikitsitasthāna*, xxviii (p. 160), *anudite sūrye uṣṇodakam anupibet*, "drink hot water before sunrise"; and ib. "a physician should give a leper, after sundown, one drachm ($\frac{1}{2}$ pala) of long pepper, *kṛṣṇā*, with cow-urine," etc., which will make him "live to the age of one hundred." On p. 161 (Calcutta text) another elixir gives a life of 500 years. The usual phrase is *varṣaśatam āyusō 'bhivṛddhir bhavati*, 'or, with the addition of conserved virility, *balavān strīṣu cā 'kṣayo varṣaśatāyur bhavati*, "he becomes potent with women and in undecayed strength lives one hundred years," xxvii (p. 157 and 159). The prescriptions for living five hundred (or more) years follow on p. 161, till we read the culmination (p. 164), "these herbs destroy evil, give bliss, and make man like the immortals." Thus *Suśruta*, like the alchemists of Europe, knew how to drug a man into long life, but he says naught of any pool that can accomplish this. It is interesting to notice that Caraka's whole system was revealed by god Indra to Bharadvāja, i. 1-25, who, as was said above, p. 2, in still older tradition had his life renewed by Indra.

"I have abstained from reproducing any of the mendacious stories which the sailors make up and in which the sailors themselves have no belief," furnish proof that about 851-867 stories of the wonders to be found in India were passed freely westward at the hands of Arabs, who had a colony in Ceylon even two centuries before that. A means of communication direct from India to Europe was therefore at hand by c. 675 independently of the Nestorians, who at the same time and even earlier had missions all over India;¹ but it does not seem to have been utilized for this myth. The Fountain is not mentioned even in the *'Ajā 'ib al-Hind*, a general collection (c. 960 A. D.) of all the marvels of India then known.

The reason, I think, why 'Palumbe' was represented as the site of the Fountain is that Kulam had been for centuries the entrepôt of trade, as Yule has shown,² and was the best-known place in India, so that it appealed most to the European geographical sense, such as it was, of the time, and the Fountain was therefore placed there by the Nestorian writers. Those actually on the ground knew, it would seem, nothing of it,³ perhaps because it was not there but far in the North, whereof a trace remains in the other miraculous fountain in Brichbrich (Mandeville, Pentexoire? "vielleicht Punjab," Oppert, p. 48), also described in the same letter. A union of myths may have taken place by way of Christian hagiolatry.

¹ On the possibility of Persian intermediaries, cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 188, note, and 545 (Bahram Gur of Persia visited India and wrote of its wonders). The Persian epic writers, however, have not the legend of rejuvenation, but that of the water of life. Nizâmi even has the legend of the dried fish revived (lacking in Firdausi, cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*). Balkh had a 'healing spring,' but there does not appear to be any Iranian legend of a Fount of Youth. Professor Jackson indeed, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii. 639, speaks of the "uralte Idee vom Baume des Lebens und der Quelle der Jugend;" but this juxtaposition is conventional and in this case is based on Darmesteter. See below, p. 55, note 2, for Darmesteter's text. The springs here are of Paradise and bestow immortality.

² See the Preface to Jordanus (on Kulam) and the (Oderic) Italian text, *Cathay*, App. ii. p. xlvi: *Poi venni a Colonbio, ch' è la migliore terra d' India per mercatanti.*

³ The same is true even of Ser Marco Polo, who has a description of all this part of India and is not shy of repeating marvels. Evidently he knew nothing of the Fountain being in Southern India at the end of the thirteenth century.

Myths of healing waters are always renewed. Thus John of Hese speaks of the fountain in the garden in which the Virgin died and adds: De cuius fontis aqua dicitur quod caeci accipientes de ea recipiunt visum, infirmi sanantur, et leprosi mundantur.¹ So too the font of Paradise, definitely located in or near Ceylon by Marignolli and others, might have been reëndued with all the attributes of the native myth of a healing and rejuvenating fountain. It is then quite possible that "Prester John" was right in locating the Fountain of Youth in that India, not far from the Indus, as people thought in those days, where also, "next to India," Euhemeros had set the salutary spring of his Utopia even in the fourth century, B.C.

But it may be asked, Did not the European myth derive wholly from the Semites? Schmidt, in the work already referred to, ignoring the question of origin, is content to say "Auch im Morgenlande findet sich diese Dichtung wieder," and gives as an illustration the case of "Khedher" (El Khidr, Hīḍr), who found, what Alexander (according to the Semites) vainly sought, the water of life,² or immortality. The example is not ill chosen. In the light of our present knowledge, the Semitic conception may be carried further back, but it is, if I am not mistaken, always expressed in this or a closely analogous form. The Semitic version, namely, whether concerned with the late myths of Hīḍr,³ or Alexander, or the dried fish revi-

¹ This 'Prester John' knows of another fountain four days' journey from Sinai, where there are no less than twelve fountains et quibus si quis biberet nunquam ut dicitur oculi eius excæcarentur (Itinerarium Iohannis de Hese). Though this itinerary describes the palace of Prester John and has much the same material as the letter of the latter, there is no hint of the Fountain of Youth. The traveller sees Paradise and even visits Purgatory! It may be that Odoric and the other friars knew but did not care to write about all the heathen myths. The former says (22): Multa sunt quae scribere et andire stupor esset, quapropter ea scribere ad praesens non multum curo, and (19) multa alia magna et mirabilia fiunt ab istis, quae minime sunt scribenda, etc.

² "Then the king rejoiced that he had heard of the fountain, And he went back to bathe in it as he had asked. He went to the mountain in the darkness but he did not stand on it, And it was not granted to him by the Lord that he should live" [forever]. Budge, *Alexander the Great*, p. 174 (Jacob of Serūg).

³ El-Khidr or Hīḍr is at present, by the way, a god of India! He is the divinity of the Bengal boatmen. Though introduced by the Muhammadans, he is now accepted as a Hindu under the name of Rāja Kidār. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, i. p. 47.

talized, or the old man seeking immortality, as related in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes,¹ has to do, as far as man is concerned, not with a Fountain of Youth, but with the water of life and immortality. This is more than Biblical and may be called pan-Semitic. From the Old Testament's "For with thee is the fountain of life," Ps. xxxvi. 9, to the New Testament's "pure river of water of life" and "tree of life" with its "leaves for the healing of the nations," Rev. xxii. 1, the idea is that of the living water which gives everlasting life. This water also cures disease, but it is not water which renews youth. In the oldest Semitic form, it is a magical plant which does this. Thus in the Babylonian epic, Gilgamesh (seeking for the water of immortality?) is treated with magical plants, to remove disease. And when it is a question of renewing youth, we find that the power to give rejuvenation resides not in the well but, as in Aelian's tale, which may be a reflex of the old story, in the plant which grows beside the well. It is the plant which has the name of "restoration of old age to youth" (littleness), and Gilgamesh says, Table xi, line 299, "Let me eat and return to my youth" (literally, "to my littleness").² In the late mythological form which the myth took among the Semites, the water of life gushed forth out of Paradise (where alone it was originally imagined to be), so that man could find it even before entering Paradise. But there appears to be a consistent difference between the Hindu and Semitic conceptions, although the two may be locally united and confused, as we find them in the European form. This difference lies in the fact that the Hindu descends into a pool which at once gives him a renewed youth, but not immortality, whereas the Semite drinks (or bathes in) a water which may or may not restore youth, but

¹ Compare Budge, *op. cit.*, p. cvi (Ethiopic), of the dead fish becoming reanimated, and (above) p. 174 (Syriac), of Jacob of Serûg. The former example is alluded to in the Koran, 18th Sûra (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*). The Hebrew romance (above, note 3, p. 20) has (not the fish but) birds revived by the water.

² I owe this translation to a note from Professor Jastrow, who suggests that the restoration to youth here "symbolizes the rejuvenation of nature in the spring." Compare Jastrow, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religions*, pp. 510, 516; and Zimmern, *Archiv für Religions-Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 165 ff., who shows that the water of life was originally only in heaven. The Adapa tale has waters of life and death.

makes him immortal. Youth may theoretically be gained by the Semite through a fruit but never is actually so gained. Yet the real quest of the Semite is for life immortal; of the Hindu, for renewed youth. The complementary thought no doubt lies near in each case, the water of life implying a life of vigor, rejuvenation the possibility of repeatedly becoming young. Yet we see from the Hindu tales that such rejuvenation was not a perpetuation of youth; the one who is rejuvenated grows old again and dies.¹ Nor does the Semite lay stress on "youth and beauty," as does the Hindu. The Hindu, in a word, seeks to secure the whole charm of life; the Semite seeks to avoid death. The "immortality" desired on earth by the Vedic poets is always "not dying" before old age and is simply equivalent to long life without decrepitude prior to expected death. The immortality of the Semite is that of Hīdr or Elias, who is still alive, or was, in Albīrūnī's day, in 1000 A.D.²

¹ Only the wild man of the woods, the Bhil, is represented as not only rejuvenated but practically immortal, having already lived two thousand seven hundred years, apparently without expectation of future death. Kathās. 123. 70. El-Khidr gets both youth and immortality.

² Albīrūnī says that "Elias is still alive," *Chronology*, p. 297 (Sachau), and calls him "ever-living." On the other hand, in India, the word "everlasting" is not employed in benedictions for men, but God is "everlasting" as well as "renewed," *sanātana*, *punarṇava*, AV. x. 8. 23 (the latter also of a convalescent, RV. x. 161. 5). So *amartya*, *immortalis*, is not applied to man even in magic wishes. The Vedic poets wish for 'old age' merely as a mark of long life (*jaradaṣṭi*=*jyok sūryam dṛṣe*). The so-called "flower of immortality," the *kuṣṭha*, is only an antidote against disease, AV. v. 4. 4, Caraka (*passim*), and the "immortality" given by the "healing waters" is but equivalent to continued health due to the "medicine in waters." This is the real interpretation of the passage, cited by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.* below), AV. v. 30. 8: "You shall not die (you shall be 'immortal'), you shall reach old age," etc. Waters are "remedial of everything." RV. x. 137. 6; but even the waters which are the "food of the gods" are invoked, along with salutary earthly waters, without hint of rejuvenation, to benefit the worshipper, as in AV. i. 33. 3-4. Here and there it may seem to be otherwise, but the context shows that neither immortality nor rejuvenation is thought of. Thus in AV. viii. 2. 1, adopting the commentator's better reading, we find: "Take to thyself the *stream of immortality*; I bring again thy life (breath), thy life (time)," where, as in *punaryuvan*, rejuvenated, *punarbāl̥ya*, senile childishness, the word *punar* suggests the interpretation of restoration of youth (cf. RV. x.

Before taking up the native Hindu myth there remains, however, the query whether a Fountain of Youth was utterly unknown in Europe prior to the twelfth century. To answer this we must turn from the Fountain made for man and examine the source of the tradition as to the eagle's fountain found in the Bestiaire of Philipp de Thaün. The passage cited above, p. 10, closes, it will be remembered, with the words:

Et tel est sa nature,
Si cum dit escripture,
Quant treis feiz est plungiez,
Dunc est rejuveigniez.

Psalm ciii. 5 is evidently referred to here, "Thy youth is renewed like the eagle's", and the explanation of the fountain in connection with the eagle reverts to the old theological view that the renewal of youth is in this case not the growth of new feathers but an actual rejuvenation. The eagle thus comes into concurrence with the phoenix, that thousand-year-old *Gangeti-*

161. 5 for verb). But the rest of the hymn shows clearly that only restoration to health and preservation from death till old age are intended, and waters are invoked, just as are herbs, metals, a girdle, etc., merely to secure a "long life of an hundred autumns," or more, as in AV. i. 35. 1; ii. 4. 1; iii. 5. 4; iv. 10. 7, etc., or as specific oblations secure health and "immortality," which is long life, RV. x. 161. 2; AV. iv. 35. 6. It is of course only the point of view which makes the difference between the wish to reach and the wish to avoid 'old age.' In Sanskrit the usual word for 'old age' means 'decrepitude,' but in both cases the wish is for a long life of health, 'wholesomeness.' Compare AV. i. 30. 3, "may the gods in the waters give him old-age, life; may he avoid other kinds of death," and the use, in the legend below, of *sarva*, 'hale' (whole), with the "wholesomeness" of Haurvatāt, the Iranian archangel of water and health, derived from the cognate word. The Indo-Iranian desired health and long life; but he did not think to escape death in the end; whereas the Semite sought a literal earthly immortality. Especially the Vedic Hindu anticipated a very joyful life after death and there, in the heavenly world of Yama, he hoped also to be 'not-dying,' after he had escaped dying (i. e. 'been 'not-dying,' which we often translate erroneously as 'immortal') as long as he could in this world. But the Semite had no such joyful anticipation; he feared the dusty, gloomy, breathless life hereafter, and hoped by some means to remain alive on earth. On a possible survival of the Semitic 'food and water of life' in Christian symbolism, compare Eichhorn, *Das Abendmahl im N. T.*, and Zimmern, *loc. cit.*

cus ales, as Ausonius calls it (more generally, ὁ Ἰνδικὸς ὄρνις), to which Apollonius of Tyana also gives India as birthplace, but a life of five hundred years.¹ But whether the phoenix lived a thousand years (Martial says *decem saecula vixit*) or five hundred, as Herodotus reports, ii. 73, it is important to observe that just as Herodotus, who derives it from 'Arabia,' says that the phoenix is in form and shape "very like an eagle" (αἰετῶ ὁμοιότατος), as the Egyptian *bennu* is represented by Cygnus and Aquila, and as phoenix and eagle are alternates in the Persian tale of the king's elevation to heaven on wings (of an eagle or of a *bird Fenix*), so there is an ancient church tradition that the eagle renews its youth for five hundred years (though some say for one hundred) and does so by plunging itself into a fountain situated in India. It is thus almost completely identified with the Rabbinical phoenix: phoenix morte multata non fuit, quia non gustaverit de arbore scientiae; sed post mille annos completos *renovatur et rediit ad juventutem suam*—instead of dying and being reborn. The eagle (called αἰετὸς διὰ τὴν πολυετίαν αὐτοῦ) lives one hundred years, according to Epiphanius, and it is only to bring into harmony with this statement that of the anonymous commentator on the passage in the Psalms above that the contradictory statement of the latter, κατὰ φ' ἔτη ἀνακαινίζεται, has been altered to ρ' ἔτη (500 changed to 100 years), as I learn from the Hierozoicon, Pars Post., lib. 2, c. 1 (p. 166). Bochart's learned dissertation on the eagle contains much valuable matter. Discussing Ps. ciii. 5, in connection with Isaiah xl. 31, which he renders, *ascendent (succrescent) pennae sicut aquilarum (aquilis)*, and Dan. iv. 33 ("his hairs were grown

¹ *Ap. Philostratos. Socotra, the Hindu "isle of the blest," dvīpa sukhādhāra (Dioscorida, perhaps 'Panchaia') is often given as the birthplace of the phoenix, with which Gangeticus scarcely agrees. On the connection between the phoenix and coral (Sangral), see Oppert. op. cit. The phoenix is perhaps alluded to in Job, xxix. 18 "I shall die in my nest and I shall multiply my days as the phoenix" [or, 'as the sands']. Pliny, x. 2. 2, follows Herodotus, and refers the phoenix to Arabia; but as to the rest, he gives it a life of DXL (vivere annis) and says that it is carried "prope Panchaiam in solis urbem." Heliopolis is intended unless Panchaia is really India, when Soli (=Tanjore) might be meant? The Persian phoenix also lives 1,000 years. Its ashes become a new bird on each occasion, but it will perish once for all at the day of judgment. Or. Coll., ii. 64. In Wünsche's *Bibl. Rabbinica* (Salomo und die Ameisen), there is an eagle 1800 years old! Cf. Lauchert, *Physiol.*, p. 9 f.*

like eagles'"), he maintains that the 'renewal of youth' is merely the re-growth of feathers,¹ and he opposes therefore the opinion of *multi veteres*, who in their ignorance of the true explanation held that the eagle's youth was renewed by means of a decennial immersion in the sea or by means of a threefold immersion in a pool. His authorities are first, Saadias (b. 892), who says: "the eagle burning with heat on approaching the sun, falls headlong into the sea and is renewed; its plumage comes again and it returns to the days of youth; this happens every decade to the end of the century, when for the last time it falls into the sea and dies;" second, the same statement (with the exception of 'drowned' for 'dies') in Porta Coeli, fol. 22, col. 2; third, Damiri (b. 1341), who, treating of the *alokab*, the melanaetos, of Arabia Felix, gives the following story of the eagle: "When it becomes slow in flight and grows blind, its young ones carry it and bear it from place to place, and seek at the top of a mountain in India a fountain, in which it bathes. They there expose it to the sun's rays. Thereupon its feathers fall out and new ones supervene, and the darkness of its eyes is dissipated. And whenever its old age returns, it bathes again in the same fountain."

Lest it be thought, however, that this fountain also is no older than the Prester John letter, the testimony (*apud* Bochart *loc. cit.*) of Eustathios (in Hexaëmeron, p. 27) must be added: Φασὶ γηράσαντα τὸν αἰτὸν εἰς πηγὴν ἀφικνεῖσθαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καταβάντα τρίτον βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνανεοῦσθαι. Διὸ καὶ τὸν Ψαλμὸν φάσκειν φησὶν Ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς αἰτοῦ νεότης σου. We thus have a spring of rejuvenation (three-fold immersion) for the eagle as early as the fourth century. To the same period reverts the etymological definition of Epiphanius, cited above, who adds (but without the *τρίτον*), *λούεται ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχρὰν λιμνὴν* (and is then rejuvenated). In the fourth-fifth century, St. Jerome (or at least the auctor epistolae ad Praesidium quae Hieronymo tribuitur) says of the eagle (when it grows old and its wings and eyes grow heavy): *Quaeritque fontem et erigit pennas, et colligit in se calorem, et sic oculi ejus sanantur et in*

¹ He compares, very pertinently, the Greek expression, 'a serpent shedding its (skin) age', *γήρας*, and the Latin equivalent, *senectutem exuere*, of a snake. The Sanskrit *jarāyu* (= *γήρας*) is used in the same way, AV. i. 27. 1, of snakes; but also of any used-up cover or husk.

fontem se ter mergit et ita ad juventatem redit. The Physiologos also treats of this eagle-fount of rejuvenating power, which may have been, as is specified by the later Arab scholar Damiri, a fountain of India. But such a fountain is not known as a means of rejuvenating man; nor do I find, even as regards the eagle, any cognizance of such a fountain on the part of the classical writers. The story is known to Donatus, who also lived in the fourth century, and he attempts to foist it upon Terence as an explanation of 'Aquilae senectus' in *Heaut.* iii. 2. 10. But it is not necessary to suppose that 'eagle's age' implies the fountain, for Augustine's comments on Ps. ciii. 5 show that the renewed youth of the eagle may have an entirely different explanation,¹ and though the excessive drinking of an old man might suggest the idea that non edendo sed bibendo vivunt Jovis aquilae, yet an old eagle's præternatural strength would seem to suffice for the sense of Terence's words. Professor E. P. Morris, I am happy to add, confirms me in this interpretation of the passage. No other classical writer, I think, alludes to the myth.

Pliny, for example, treats of the same melanaetos of which Damiri writes, yet he says only, x. 3. 3, "conversatur autem in montibus"; as of the morphnus, "huic vita circa lacus"; but naught nearer the point. For when he says of eagles generally, "opetunt non senio nec aegritudine sed fame," he alludes merely to the curvature of the beak. The tradition, I imagine, was derived from the East (whence probably Jerome's statement). It can scarcely be native to the classical world, or Aelian, if not Aristotle, would have alluded to it. The latter however, says of melanaetos only that it is brave (etc.) and lives in the mountains, *De Animal.* ix. 22. 2. Of eagles in general he tells the story of the curved beak and the eagle's consequent death of hunger, a misfortune which it suffered because (the story is) when it was a man it was inhospitable (a good Greek parallel to the Hindu rule of metempsychosis); also "it is a long-lived bird," *ib.* 4 and 7. But if, as may easily have chanced, Aristotle knew the fable without alluding to it,

¹ Augustine says that the eagle's youth is restored, "but not into immortality." For it breaks its over-grown beak against a rock, and so procures food again, "and after its old age it will be like a young eagle." I owe this reference to Professor F. C. Porter. Origen, third century, knows of the renewed youth, but not of the fountain.

it is not easy to suppose that Aelian did the same. He has much to say of the eagle and many stories to tell of it (e. g. of the eagle that committed suttee when its beloved owner died; of the eagle that saved the life of "Gilgames, king of the Babylonians," *περὶ ζώων ιδιότητος*, xii. 21), and it is not probable he would have said that it is killed by the symphyton, vi. 46, and is "superior to thirst and seeks no outer remedy against toil, despising water . . . it needs no spring," *οὔτε πηγῆς δεῖται*, ii. 26, if he had been conversant with the application of the *πηγή* as used by later writers in reference to the eagle. Aulus Gellius, though he has a whole chapter devoted to marvels, ix. 4, has not a word to say of rejuvenation either of man or of eagle. As Aelian and Gellius both belong to the second century, it would seem that Jerome's fountain was unknown to scholars of this date. It is probably not without significance that Jerome says *quaerit fontem* and Eustathios *εἰς πηγὴν* (with no indefinite article added). [See the final note on page 67.]

If we gather up all the threads of the rejuvenation-fable, we shall find that the matter stands as follows. There are various means of rejuvenation, but the Fountain of Youth, as applied both to man and to the animal world (the eagle), appears to derive from India,¹ being brought into Europe on the one hand

¹ India and the East are both vague terms and it may be that the fountains which healed the blind in the garden sacred to the Virgin (in Prester John of Hese, above, p. 35; *ib.* note 1) may be the starting-point of the eagle's fountain. The renewed sight of the eagle is especially prominent in the description. But it is possible that the eagle-legend derives in part from the Hindu (epic) Sampāti myth. There is, indeed, no fountain here, but this may have been done away with in honor of the saint. Otherwise the myth is similar. Sampāti is a kind of roc, a monstrous bird, which flies to the sun and burns its wings, whereupon it falls upon the Vindhya mountain and in talking to the holy saint Nisākara (who, by the way, was 8000 years old) receives new wings. R. iv. 60-63. A curious combination of belief in the magical power of the roc itself and suggested rejuvenation is found in the *'Ajā-ib al-Hind*. Among the marvellous stories is one of a crew of sailors shipwrecked on the way to China. The incident being "well-known to sailors" is "denied by none." Wrecked and lost on a lonely isle these sailors were one day attacked by a bird "huge as a bull," which, however, they killed and devoured. Presently their skin became like that of an infant and those who were old and had white hair shed this, to get in a few days a new growth. This new hair was "black and brilliant, and it never again became white" (Devic, li).

in the middle ages, and on the other in the first centuries after Christ. These two phases of belief, however, approximate to other forms already found in Europe; in the middle ages, to the 'water of life,'¹ and in the classical world to the *ἀθάνατος πηγή* or spring conferring endless life on those who have passed the bourne whence there is no return, the Anostos land which coincides with the ends of the earth, imagined as a home of the blessed. This in turn coincides with the old belief in the earthly paradise of the golden age, where as Hesiod says (*Works*, 113):

οὐδέ τι δειλὸν

γῆρας ἐπῆν,

exactly as the later poet describes the agelessness of the Hyperboreans. But it is clear that these phases are of different character. The Fountain of Youth is exaggerated earthly medicinal water; the "immortal spring" of the Greek land of blessedness is unearthly and is applied to spirits only. Though born of the same thought it is a separate development and does not imply a precedent idea of a fount of rejuvenation. To this category belongs the mixture of means of rejuvenation found in Theopompus' effort to out-do the Hyperboreans in the Meropes' two rivers of pleasure and pain, beside which stand trees, and the fruit of these trees on being eaten kill the eater: the one in tears and sorrow, but the other in such joy that the man who eats thereof forgets all former joys and love and becomes younger and younger. "First casting off old age (*τὸ γῆρας ἀπορρίψας*) he reverts to the acme of life; then to boyhood; then he becomes a child, then a baby, and thereupon he is quite used up" (and dies). Such a parody as this of the fourth century B. C. may evidently be based on what it most closely parodies, the ageless life and happy death of the inhabitants of all Utopias and mortal dwellers in paradise, whose endless felicity is degraded, as Schroeder has said of the Hyperboreans,² to "long life with a

¹ Gerster, *loc. cit.*, cites authority for the belief that the legend of the water of life was known in western Europe in the first centuries of our era. In Greece, as Rohde in *Psyche* has shown (*loc. cit.*, above, p. 5), the idea was introduced still earlier. The legends of the two waters may have been merged before they became known in the West.

² Otto Schroeder, *Archiv. für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. 81. The author claims, p. 83, that "Hyperborean" is "above the mountains," in heaven (bor=gir, mountain).

corresponding diet." If, as Rohde seems to think,¹ Theopompos (or Aelian perhaps, for we cannot be sure how much belongs to the former) had here referred to a Fountain of Youth, he would certainly have had the Meropes drink the water of the river. The fruit that rejuvenates belongs rather to the wider cycle of magic fruits which reaches from the divyam phalam (heavenly fruit) of India to the Avlon apples and the fruit of rejuvenation found in the Pacific isles. In any case, it is interesting to see how even in this tale of Aelian the foreign element is brought forward. It is a tale of Phrygia, and Phrygia is only a specialization of the outlandish. The rivers are "on the extreme" end of things, in the gulf at the world's end; in short in the extreme Orient, perhaps again India, or what passed for India. The native fountains of Greece destroyed life or prolonged life, but they did not rejuvenate.²

The native Hindu tradition of the Brahmanic age (c. 700–800 B.C.) reveals the error in Le Grand's assumption that the Orient knew only a fountain of life, but failed to invent a Fountain of Youth. On the other hand, India not only has the Fountain of Youth in its purest form, but it knows also the healing and revivifying water, fruit, salve, etc. As for this latter water, it restores health, in particular it cures leprosy. The oldest case on record is that of the sinful king Vena, who, like Naaman in

¹ Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 207. On the identity of these rivers with the "fountains called Weeping and Laughing" with which Rohde identifies them there is more doubt than he seems to think. The latter is not attributed to Theopompos (Pliny, N. H., xxxi. 2. 19), and if one reads over the astonishing list of fountains and rivers of miraculous nature (in the opening paragraphs of this book of Pliny), one may well question whether there is any occasion to identify the founts of Theophrastos with the rivers of Theopompos (to the latter's story are perhaps referable the "waters that kill" expressly ascribed to him, Pliny, *ib.* 26; cf. Parodox, Vat. Rohdii, Fr. xxxix, "Theopompos speaks of a spring in Thrace in which those who *bathe* loose their life").

² Compare especially the list of miraculous fountains referred to by Isigonos, *Frg. Hist. Graec.*, iv. p. 436, who like Ktesias (see the note, below, p. 51) describes every imaginable kind of remarkable fountain, but has no note on any fountain of rejuvenation. Though fragments of Isigonos are all we possess and negative evidence is not usually convincing, yet the silence of Isigonos and of Pliny, not to speak of Ktesias, does constitute a strong argument against the supposition that any *πηγὴ ἀθάνατος* was understood as a fount of rejuvenation.

the Jordan, was cured of leprosy by bathing in the Sarasvatī river, where also at first is located the Fountain of Youth.¹

The story of Cyavana, who enjoyed the privilege of becoming young again on bathing in the Fountain of Youth, is indeed older than the Brahmanic age. But in the Rig Veda, while it may reasonably be inferred that the later form of the story is already known (see below), there is only the statement that Cyavāna (the older form of the name) was rejuvenated by the twin physician-gods, the Aśvins. Although other allusions to this hero are found in the Rig Veda,² one stanza really expresses all that is told of him, RV. i. 116. 10: "O ye two healers (the Aśvins), from Cyavāna when he had grown old ye loosed like a mantle his skin; wonder-workers that ye are, ye prolonged his life when he had been deserted [exposed to die], and ye made him the husband of maidens." The hero of the legend was the priest of king Śāryāta, and is called "the son of Bhṛgu" in the Āitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rig Veda, v. 21. In the Śatapatha of the Yajur Veda he is called "either the son of Bhṛgu or the son of Aṅgiras," which indicates synonymity. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma (chant) Veda calls him "the son of Dadhyanc." The last, though brief, is more explicit than the Rig Veda in describing the circumstances of rejuvenation: Cyavano vāi Dādhīco 'śvinoḥ priya āsīt, so 'jīryat; tam etena sāmṇā 'psu vyāīṅkayatām,³ tam punaryuvānam akurutām, that is: "Cyavana, the son of Dadhyanc, was dear to the Aśvins, he grew old; with this [just mentioned] chant [called the Vīṅka chant] they threw him into the water, they rejuvenated him" (Tāṇḍya xiv. 6. 10). This change of patronymic may be connected with the part of Dadhyanc in the account of the Jāiminiya, cited below.

The gist of the story in the Śatapatha⁴ is that the aged saint was insulted by the sons of Śāryāta, Manu's son. Enraged at

¹ Oddly enough, the signification of the names Vena and Naaman is nearly the same. For the latter, see II Kings, v. 14. For Hindu modern cures and restoration to beauty, see the *Indian Fairy Tales, Folktales of Bengal, Wide Awake Stories, and Legends of the Panjāb*.

² See the passages referred to in Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v. p. 243.

³ This form is used for *iṅkh*, merely for the sake of the name of the hymn *vīṅka*.

⁴ The text, iv. 1. 5, and translation have been published so often that it will not be necessary to give them in full. Compare for the text,

this he created discord among them. To appease the priest, Śaryāta gave him his own daughter, Sukanyā. The seer accepted her, allayed the strife, and Śaryāta went away, lest the irascible saint should get angry again. The Aśvins were then on earth and tried to seduce Sukanyā, saying, "What a shrivelled old man thou liest with; come with us." She replied, "I will not desert, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me" (yasmāi mām pitā adād na taṁ jīvantam hāsyāmi). The saint knew what had happened and bade her, if they said this again, to reply "Ye are not complete nor perfect, and yet ye blame my husband," and if they asked for what reason, she was to say, "Rejuvenate my husband, and I will tell you." All happened as foreseen by the sage, and when she had made this reply the Aśvins said, "Put him into the pool¹ and he will come out with whatever age he shall desire." So she put him into the pool and he came forth with the age that he desired. The saint then explained that the Aśvins were incomplete because they had been excluded from the gods' sacrifice. The Aśvins complained to the gods and were told that they had been excluded because, as physicians, they associated too promiscuously with men. They retorted that the gods sacrificed with a headless (viśīrṣṇā) sacrifice, and if they (the Aśvins) were invited to join, they would explain why the sacrifice was headless (and therefore useless). So they were invited, received the "draught of the Aśvins," and became the two under priests of sacrifice, for that they had set on again the head of the sacrifice.²

In the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, there is a fuller description of the rejuvenation of Cyavana. Here for

Weber's edition of the Śat. Br.; Böhtlingk's *Chrestomathie*, p. 28; Muir, *op. cit.*, v. p. 250; and for translations, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, i. 13; Muir, *ib.*, 251; Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxvi. p. 272. The Śat. Br. and Jām. Br. call the king and the family Śaryāta and Śaryāta, respectively.

¹ Professor Eggeling reports that the Kāṇva recension has 'water' only. The Mādhyandina text has 'pool': *etaṁ hradam abhyavahara*, not "take to" but "put down into," as in the account of the flood, where Manu "put the fish into the sea," *taṁ evaṁ bhṛtvā samudram abhyavajāhāra*, ŚB. i. 8. 1. 5. The context assures the meaning in each case.

² The latter part of the story appears again in TS. vi. 4. 9. 1, cited by Muir, *op. cit.* p. 253.

the first (and only) time the fountain has a name, śāśava, the 'place of youth.'¹ It is, moreover, in a fixed, if uncertain, locality, namely, a part of the river Sarasvatī, either the Indus or the smaller holy river known by the same name, which in Vedic lore is especially associated with the Aśvins as helping Indra to renew his lost vigor. In contrast with the simplicity of the Śatapatha version of the Yajur Veda, but with an approach to the mystic power of the chant (the chief object of concern in the Sāma Veda) found in the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa cited above, Cyavana is first represented as about to be rejuvenated by the power of the chant, called (after him) Cyāvana. The same motive appears at the end of the story, while the old version, which makes the rejuvenation depend wholly upon the pool, forms the main of the tale. Verbal agreement and disagreement will be noticed in the two texts of the Yajur and Sāma Vedas. Perhaps the most striking instance is that in the former the result of dissension is described as a fratricidal and patricidal strife, while in the latter the lack of harmony is portrayed in the words: 'mother knew not son, nor son mother.'

As this tale has already been translated once, it will suffice to summarize the paragraphs, though I shall translate in full at the beginning, where an emended text makes a new version desirable.

Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, knew the divine knowledge [or power] of (Rudra-Śiva) the Lord of the Waste.² He addressed

¹ This word means literally "appertaining to a child," śīśu (cf. pāṭhava from pṛthu). It has here no connection with the melody or chant called śāśava, which is derived from the seer Śīśu, of precocious memory, TMB. xiii. 3. 23. Can it be connected with the Tamil śīśupābam, a charm for recreating a dead body out of its own dust? As such, in the South, the śīśupābam is opposed to the saṃjīvi charm, which reanimates the body thus restored, but not yet animated. Compare Babington, as cited by Ralston, *op. cit.*, p. 233; and for the Hindu epic saṃjīvinī, note 4, above, p. 3. Perhaps, however, śīśupābam is Sk. Śīṣapā, a tree, *Dalbergia sisu*, the fruit of which may be used as a talisman.

² Or (traditionally), 'lord of leavings' (of sacrifice). See the notes to the text. The word *brāhmaṇa* may be used like *brāhman* for secret, magical, knowledge (cf. a similar development in the case of the word Upaniṣad). In AV. viii. 2. 7 and 10, Bhava and Śarva (=Rudra-Śiva) are invoked to give "long life" and (it is added) "we make the *brāhman* his protection," where *brāhman* is a charm (25) to ensure long life for "a myriad of years." It is possible, however, that *brāhmaṇa* here means 'divine power,' as in AV. vii. 67. 1.

his sons with the words, "Surely I know the divine knowledge [or power] of the Lord of the Waste. In the waste-place then putting me down [thrice]¹ take your departure." They replied "That we cannot do. We shall be vituperated. People will say, 'they have abandoned their father.'" "Not so," said he, "you will surely be the richer for it, and I at the same time shall have the hope of rejuvenation. Just leave me and go away." These were his instructions. Depositing him then by the Fount of Youth at the Sarasvatī [thrice] they took their departure. He uttered his wish: "Being deserted in this waste-place, I would be rejuvenated, find a maiden for a wife, and make sacrifice with a thousand (cattle)." These were his words. He had a vision of this chant (called the Cyāvana, 'chant of Cyavana'), and lauded with it (120).

While he was lauding, Śaryāta, the son of Manu, settled near him, and the young cowherds smeared him with dirt and ash-whitened balls of dung.² He made discord among the Śaryātans, so that mother knew not son, nor son mother. Then spoke Śaryāta, the son of Manu, saying, "Have ye seen anything about here which produced this (state of affairs)"? They replied, "Nothing other than this: there is an old good-for-nothing man lying here. The young cowherds and shepherds have to-day smeared him with dirt and ash-whitened balls of dung; then this (state of affairs) has been produced" (121). [The following I abbreviate.] Śaryāta recognized Cyavana and begged him to excuse the fault. The latter demanded as expiation the gift of Śaryāta's daughter, Sukanyā, and refused any substitute. After mutual consultation, the Śaryātans surrendered her, but they told her to run away from him as soon as they should decamp, since he would be unable to follow them.³ She was about to do so, but the seer, though unable to pursue, was equal to the occasion. He called on the snake

¹ Doubtful; compare the note on the text.

² In the ŚBr. version 'pelted him with clods.'

³ In the ŚBr., the reason given for the retirement of Śaryāta is that he feared a repetition of the same offense. Here the seer orders the Ś. off and they play a trick to regain possession of Śukanyā, who as soon as they left was to run after them; since as they jeeringly said, "This good-for-nothing old man will be unable to follow you; so run after us as soon as we yoke up."

of the pool¹ to circumvent her. As she started, the snake intercepted her, and seeing the snake she stayed with her husband.

Just at this time, the Aśvins, the twin physician demi-gods, who never had been invited to join the Soma-drinking of the real gods, were wandering about earth, employed in their usual occupation of curing people. On seeing Sukanyā they desired her and said to her, "This old man is not whole, not fit to be a husband; be our wife." She refused, saying that she would be the wife of him to whom her father gave her. The seer perceived with his seer-power what had taken place, yet he questioned her. She reported truthfully the Aśvins' words, including the compliment to the seer. This was satisfactory to him, as he foresaw how he might make use of it. "Tomorrow," said he, "they will return and repeat what they have said today. Then do you say to them, 'Ye yourselves are not whole (asarvāu) because, although divine, ye are not partakers of the Soma-drink, whereas my husband drinks Soma and hence is whole.' And when," he added, "they ask 'Who can make us Soma-drinkers?' then do you reply, 'My husband, who drinks Soma.'"

All happened as foreseen, and then the Aśvins begged Cyavana to make them drinkers of Soma. Thereupon he struck a bargain with them, that they should rejuvenate him and he should make them drinkers of Soma. So they carried him to the 'Youth-place' of the Sarasvatī;² but he, perceiving that they were about to trick him, warned his wife, saying that the Aśvins would go into the pool with him and all three of them would come up out of the water exactly alike 'with the most beautiful form.' So he showed her a sign by which she should recognize him. They all came up alike, fair and beautiful, Cyavana now being rejuvenated and indistinguishable from the Aśvins, who are always described as young and most fair. But she, having received the secret sign, said, "I distinguish you two;

¹ Magic pools are generally guarded by snakes, as serpents or dragons guard treasure of all kinds. For the snake's guardianship of the 'waters of strength and weakness' in Russia, see Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, p. 233. For modern Hindu examples, see Crooke, *Folk-lore of Northern India*, i. 49; ii. 136.

² He had previously been there (see the opening paragraphs).

this man here is my husband." The Aśvins then demanded their reward, "We have rejuvenated you; do you then make us drinkers of Soma." He said, "The gods are now sacrificing in the Field of the Kurus; but their sacrifice has no head (and is therefore of no use to them). This 'head of the sacrifice' is known to Dadhyanc. Ask him to tell you what it is, and then you will become drinkers of Soma." They went to Dadhyanc and proffered their request. He refused at first, saying that he was afraid of Indra, who had indeed revealed the 'head' to him, but Indra had told him not to reveal it to anyone else on fear of losing his head. "Then tell us with the head of a horse," they said, and he assented to this. They took off his head and substituted an equine head, with which he taught them the 'head of the sacrifice.' Indra thereupon cut off Dadhyanc's equine head; but the wise Aśvins then put on again his own head, and going to the Field of the Kurus bargained with the gods, offering to exchange their own knowledge of the 'head of the sacrifice' for the right to drink Soma. The gods assented and the Aśvins thus became priests and got the right to drink Soma. Cyavana, having become rejuvenated, went to Śaryāta and conducted a sacrifice for him on the eastern site. Śaryāta gave him a thousand cattle, wherewith Cyavana 'sacrificed for himself' (that is, as the cattle were his own property, he alone gained merit by the sacrifice). The tale ends: "Thus Cyavana, by lauding with this chant, became rejuvenated, found a maiden for a wife, and sacrificed with a thousand (cattle). Moreover, by means of this chant he used to draw up out of the Sarasvati's Fountain of Youth whatever food he desired."

So ends the story of Cyavana in this section of the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Chant-Veda, and it is evident that, as in the Tāṇḍya, the chant, at the hands of the chant-priest, has stolen the glory originally belonging to the pool. With the closing sentence of the story may be compared Rig Veda i. 164. 49,

¹ Cf. the account of the fount in Brichbrich, above, p. 22, n. 1. This is a new feature of the Cyavana pool, not mentioned in other accounts. The story of Dadhyanc, as given in the Bṛhaddevatā, adds that the horse's head "fell into the midst of a lake on Mount Śaryāṇāvat" (RV. i. 84. 14), whence it emerges to bestow "various boons" on living beings, BD. iii. 23 f. Perhaps the later legend unites this with the pool of youth. See the next note.

where the river Sarasvatī (in whom, *ib. ii. 41. 17*, “are deposited all ages of life”) is declared to “provide all good things,” like the inexhaustible cow of olden (or pot of modern) lore. As has already been remarked, it is in the Sarasvatī that Vena, the leper (also a “son of Bhṛgu”) bathed and thereby cured himself. It is interesting to compare Ktesias’ account of the Indian river Balada (‘Hyparkhos’, ‘Hypobarus’; the name, he says, means “bearing all good things”),¹ in which those afflicted with scab and leprosy were cured.

The Rig Veda account of Cyavana (above) says that the Aśvins removed his skin, which may indicate that this earliest version of the tale recognized Cyavana not only as decrepit but as a leper. Of this, however, there is no further intimation.² The modern Amritsar, or ‘lake of immortality,’ the ‘centre of the Sikh religion,’ owed its first reputation to a similar cure of a leper. Crooke (*op. cit.* p. 59) says that there is another ‘tank’ like it at Lalitpur. It is chiefly the cure of leprosy which results in a youthful appearance. In this way Naaman himself might have said of Jordan that it rejuvenated him, whose “flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child.” The same expression, used in describing the sanative effects of the Hot Springs in the “Ozark legends,” is an imitation of a conventional phrase (see p. 57).

Turning now to the form of the Cyavana legend as presented in the great epic, we find some curious modifications. Sukanyā here makes the acquaintance of her future husband through an accident due to girlish curiosity. The great ascetic has sat still so long that ants have built a hill over him, but out of this his

¹ The name means literally “strength-giving,” and is applied to a well into which, according to Ktesias, everything thrown descended but was at once cast forth again. Those suffering from scab or leprosy threw themselves into the Balada pool and were thrown out cured. Ktesias mentions that the wine-water of the Phasis was also a restorative. It is quite significant of the Greek’s ignorance of any myth of the Fountain of Youth that he mentions no waters of rejuvenating power although he enumerates all the magical wells and rivers from the Indus to Sicily (such as the rivers of wine, of gold, and of madness).

² To “leave the old skin” is a formula of rejuvenation under any circumstances. Thus when the aged Śarabhaṅga burned himself in fire, he “left the old skin” and became a “fair young man,” as he started for heaven. R(B). iii. 5. 40. In RV. x. 39. 4, Cyavāna is described as “like an old car” (made over to go). See above, p. 40, note.

eyes gleam like fireflies. Wondering what they are, Sukanyā pierces them, which angers the saint, and he demands the girl in reparation. Some time after this, the Aśvins chance to see her and ask her who she is, adding that they wish to know her. She replies that she is Cyavana's wife. Then the two Aśvins laugh and say, "Cyavana has gone his road (i. e. he is very old); why has your father given you to him? You are glorious as lightning . . . why do you, who are so beautiful, serve such an age-worn passionless husband? . . . Forsake Cyavana and choose one of us." She replies that she is pleased with her husband, and tells them not to doubt her. "But they addressed her again, saying, 'We are the two divine physicians; we will make your husband young and beautiful. Then do ye choose one of us three as your husband'." To this she agrees and on her telling the son of Bhṛgu (Cyavana), he assents to the proposal. "Then the two Aśvins addressed her and said, 'let your husband go into the water' (here represented as the Narmadā river). Thereupon Cyavana quickly entered the water in his desire for beauty. The Aśvins also then went into the stream. A moment after they came up out of the stream, divinely fair, all of them, and youthful, (wearing) brilliant ear-rings. And equally beautiful, equally charming, spoke all together, 'Choose one of us, the one you desire.' She, seeing they were all alike beautiful, after wise reflection,¹ chose him who was her own husband." In another part of the Mahābhārata, it is said that Cyavana had a son by Sukanyā, and that his son's son was Ruru, who gave up half his life and thereby resuscitated the dead body of the girl he loved.²

To this epic version of the story of Cyavana there is an after-piece, in which is related how Cyavana overcomes Indra, who is represented as enraged because the vulgar Aśvins (they mingled too much with men to be quite respectable) have been made participants in the Soma by Cyavana. The seer not only paralyzes Indra but creates a monster Mada (intoxication), who frightens all the gods. But when his *raison d'être* is accomplished, this demon of intoxication is disposed of in the following manner. One quarter of him is deposited in drink (which

¹ This probably means that she tacitly appealed to the Aśvins themselves to direct her choice, as in the Puranic version (below).

² See the reference, above, p. 3, note 3.

the scholiast, at Mbh. iii. 125. 8, says is brandy, surā), one quarter in women, one quarter in dice, and one quarter in hunting (madness¹ possesses those who indulge in drink, venery, gambling, and gluttony).² This, however, leads away from the subject of rejuvenation and I mention it here only to explain that the same after-piece, though in another form and curiously united with another legend, is found also in the Jāminiya Brāhmaṇa.³

But the tale of Cyavana is too well believed in India to die out with the epic. Centuries after this it appears again in Puranic literature, being alluded to in the Vishnu and told at length in the Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas. Thus it is brought down far into the Christian era, to a time probably not long before it appears in Europe in the imported Oriental romance. In India itself, at the time of Somadeva, in the eleventh century, where, as has been seen, charms for raising the dead, such as are found in parallel Russian, Teutonic, Grecian, and Syrian stories, are still in vogue, there is also a story (tar. 41) of an elixir of ancient days which gave freedom from old age and of an attempt to make ambrosia of certain drugs; but at the command of Indra and the Aśvins(!) the manufacture was not completed, lest men should become like gods and "earth become free of age and death." On the other hand, modern⁴ rejuvenation by means of drugs is regarded as a silly fable, a fit subject of scorn and ridicule.

There is no essential difference between the epic account of Cyavana's rejuvenation and that, for example, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, save that in the latter the pool is "made by the Sidhas," or angelic 'perfected' saints, and that the motive of

¹ Gellius, xix. 2, cites τὴν σοφουσίαν εἶναι μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν (Democritus or Hippocrates), which may serve as a parallel.

² With this quartette of vices compare AV. vi. 70. 1: yathā māṃsaṃ yathā surā yathā 'kṣā adhīdevane: yathā puṃso vṛṣaṇyata striyāṃ nihan-yate manaḥ (attachment to flesh, intoxication, gambling, and lustfulness).

³ Text and translation are given below, p. 64 f.

⁴ Compare the tale of the foolish king Vilāsaśīla in Kathās. 40. 42 ff. He was persuaded to undergo a course of treatment with drugs for eight months, in order to be rejuvenated, and is called a fool. For it is admitted that in old time there were such rasas, elixirs; but the present vegetables (drugs) have "the opposite" effect and are tools in the hands of rascals, dhūrtās, for "Can time once past return?"

seduction on the part of the deities is quite omitted. Moreover, though there remains the fabric of the trick by means of which in the earlier version the Āśvins sought to deceive Cyavana, yet in this later form the twin gods make no effort to avail themselves of it, nor is Cyavana represented as outwitting them; but Sukanyā throws herself upon their mercy and at once obtains it. The tale, as related, Bhāg. P. ix. 3. 11 ff., runs thus. The Āśvins (for no apparent reason) come to the hermitage of the seer. Cyavana, after duly paying reverence to them, says: "Give me vigor, O ye who have power (to do this), and, albeit you have no share in the Soma, I will take for you a draught of Soma at the sacrifice" (vayo me dattam īśvarāu; graham grahīṣye somasya yajñe vām apy asomapoḥ). "Very good" (bādhām), they say, and at once issue the prescription, "Immerse yourself in this saint-made pool," nimajjatām bhavān asmin hrade siddhavinirmite,¹ whereupon the old man enters the water, but "out of the water came three men," alike beautiful and each wearing beautiful wreaths and ear-rings.² Then, Sukanyā, being unable to distinguish them, "took refuge with the Āśvins; and they, pleased with her wifely devotion (pāti-vratya), revealed the saint her husband, and went to heaven." The piquancy of the old tale is here lost. It has become eminently respectable, and the Āśvins' conduct is beyond reproach. But the Fountain of Youth survives, and it is still pointed out by the two gods who are themselves besung in the Rīg-Veda as the "ageless pair," ajarayū, and who not only give the appearance of renewed youth but actually "push back death" (AV. vii. 53. 1.).

It would not be strange if it were this very fountain which, on the path of so many Hindu fables, passed eventually into the Occident, inspiring alike the trouvères of France and the author

¹ There is a Tīrtha called 'Siddha-water,' Siddhodaka; but it is on Mt. Meru, Kathās. 119. 81.

² The later the tale the more the adornments. At first Cyavana is simply furnished with a new skin; then he comes up with a most beautiful form; then he wears brilliant ear-rings; finally he comes out of the water with a wreath as well as with ear-rings. This tendency to show (observed by the Greeks) reminds one of the criticism of the Hindus in *The Fardle of Facions*. The disapproving old English critic quaintly says that the Hindus are "in trimming and arraieng of their bodies, to, to, gaude glorious."

of Wolfdietrich in Germany, perhaps still echoing in the elaborated myth connected with the Silver and Sulphur Springs of Florida.¹ That the water of the Fountain of Youth mingled with the 'water of life,' the source of which is one with that of the 'tree of life,' is tolerably certain. Such details as are shown in Wolfdietrich and the 'Land of Youth' are significant of this. But the converging evidence of the European writers who refer the myth of the Fountain in its various forms to the Orient, makes for the explanation here advocated rather than for the assumption that the Fountain of Youth is 'universal' or belongs to the prehistoric thesaurus of Indo-European legend.² What the imagination of Greece failed of itself to invent, what Europe lacks in its oldest traditions and eventually refers to the Orient, is probably not European but Oriental. The water of life was supplied from Semitic tradition filtering through a foreign medium. The Fountain of Youth also derived from the Orient, but apparently it originated not among the Semites but among the Hindus.

Perhaps the strangest fact in connection with the legend of the Fountain of Youth is the persistence with which the idea has been cherished in India, the land where in later days the joys of life have been most undervalued and a renewal of earthly existence most dreaded; where, to Brahman and to Buddhist alike, the aim of man has not been rejuvenation but cessation from physical activity. But, on the other hand, it may be because of this very teaching that the tale was so well liked

¹ If the pools of healing be excepted (and most of them are quite modern) there are no pools in India which can rival the Sarasvatī pool in antiquity and reputation, though there are now other pools of rejuvenation (in Bengal, etc.). Crooke, *op. cit.*, i. p. 59 (add *Rāj. Gaz.* iii. 125), includes in his references pools simply sanative.

² In 1875, Darmesteter, under the influence of Kuhn, could say in his *Haurvatāt et Ameretāt*, p. 71: "Cyavana sortant rajeuni des vagues est un mythe germanique et grec aussi bien qu'indien," and add the note: "A la même source coule l'eau de la vie, cherchée en vain par l'Alexandre de la légende persane." Rohde, although in *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 183, he inclines to believe in Oriental influence on the early Greek romance-writers, in *Pysche*, p. 390, speaks of the water of life as an 'uraltes Märchen' common to many peoples. It must be remembered, however, that in the latter passage Rohde is speaking of the ambrosia given in the world of the dead, not of a spring to be sought by the living.

and preserved among the people, who had, perhaps, more human nature than either Brahman priest or Buddhist monk could eradicate.

Finally, it is scarcely possible to study the state of mind leading to this persistence without asking oneself, Is it a sign of strength or weakness? At first sight it does indeed seem to betray a morbid discontent, and I suppose no one has heard 'Backward, turn backward, O Time, in thy flight' without some feeling of contempt for the man who wanted to be made "a child again, just for to-night." But, after all, the desire for renewed strength is the lure to the real Fountain, as says the writer of *Palingenesis*:

Oh, give me back, I cried, the vanished splendours,
The breath of morn and the exultant strife,
When the swift stream of life
Bounds o'er its rocky channel and surrenders
The pond, with all its lilies, for the leap
Into the unknown deep.

As long as a man sympathizes with strength and seeks it, he is 'whole.' To contemn it is a sign of decay. Only there is a strength physical and again a strength intellectual, or spiritual, as the Hindu calls it. The philosopher transferred his sympathy and search; the 'man apart' (the priest's name for the common man) held fast to the old ideal. The trouble with India for the last two thousand years or more has been that 'apart'.

There is also in India the *vijarā nadī*, 'ageless river', which stands beside the 'tree of sustenance', KU. i. 3. But this is in heaven, like the White Hom, the Soma, the divine honey of the Finns, the Urdsquelle of the Teutons. From all these, as from the Kinderbrunnen of the Germans, the earthly near-by Fount of Youth is to be differentiated. It is only this form which I derive from India, whence also comes the modern 'flask of Youth', sold to-day, it is said, in Java (as in Sicily).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

To p. 4, note. See now Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser*, which comes to hand as this goes to press.

Apropos of the age at which man becomes 'old' (above, p. 10, note 2), Burton says that an Arab is regarded as young till he reaches the age of fifty or, as some say, sixty. (*Arab. Nights*, x. p. 438, note). El Khidr became seventeen. Baron Lahontan, in his *New Voyages to North America*, ed. Thwaites, ii. p. 418, says that if a Redskin dies at sixty he is thought to die young.

To pp. 22, note 1, and 31, note 1. As to the derivation of the Sipdbad story itself from India, see Benfey, *Pañc.* ii. p. 447.

To p. 29, note. Prof. Torrey calls my attention to the *Kitāb el-Mu'ammari'n*, treating of the age of Moslem saints (ed. Goldziher). To the extraordinary tales of prolonged life might have been added the case of the Chinaman Pung, who, as narrated in the Astley *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iv. p. 218, lived to the age of eight hundred years and had seventy-two wives. The indiscretion of his last wife cost him his life. For Pung's sheet in the Ledger of Fate had by chance been caught up in the binding so that the divine accountant did not find his name, and could not blot it out at the usual time. To satisfy his wife's insistent curiosity Pung told her the facts in strictest confidence. She could not keep the secret. The accountant soon heard of it and at once looked up the sheet, found Pung's name, blotted it out, and "so he died."

To p. 51 (also p. 26). The collection of tales published by J. W. Buel in 1880, entitled *Legends of the Ozarks*, is a forgery. The Ozark Indians of Arkansas have healing springs, and like the possessors of such springs elsewhere attribute more or less magical power to the waters. But they have no legend corresponding to that of the Fountain of Youth, and the hints to the contrary in the *Legends of the Ozarks* are due merely to imitation (on the part of the American author) of the Ponce de Leon legend. See a communication on this point by the present writer published in the *N. Y. Nation*, April 13, 1905, p. 289.

TEXT OF THE CYAVANA-STORY OF THE JĀIMINĪYA BRĀHMANA.
(BOOK THREE, CAP. 120 f.)

Cyavano vāi Bhārgavo Vāstupasya¹ brāhmaṇam avet,² sa putrān abravīd, Vāstupasya³ vāi brāhmaṇam veda, tam mā vāstāu⁴ nidhāya triḥ⁵ punaḥ prayānam prayāte 'ti. Te 'bruvan, na śakṣyāma, ākrośanavanto⁶ bhaviṣyāmaḥ, pitaram ahāsiṣur⁷ iti naḥ vakṣyanti⁸ 'ti; ne 'ti ho 'vāca, tena vāi yūyam vaśīyāṁso bhaviṣyatha, teno eva mama punaryuvatāyā āsā; hitvāi 'va prayāte 'ti tām ajñāpayat.⁹ Tam Sarasvatyāi śāisave nidhāya triḥ¹⁰ punaḥ prayānam prāyān¹¹. So 'kāmayata vāstāu hīnaḥ¹² punaryuvā syām kumārīm jāyām vindeya¹³ sahasreṇa yajeye 'ti; sa etat sāmā 'paśyat tenā 'stuta. (2) 120.

Tam tuṣṭuvānam Śaryāto Mānavo grāmeṇā 'dhyavāsyat, tam kumārā gopālā mṛdā śakṛtpiṇḍāir āsapāṇḍubhir adihan, so 'sam-jñām Śaryātebhyo¹⁴ 'karot; tan na mātā putram ajānān na putro mātaram vā.¹⁵ So 'bravīc Charyāto¹⁶ Mānavaḥ, kim ihā 'bhitaḥ kim cid adrāṣṭa yata idam ittham abhūd iti; tasmāi ho 'cur, nanu tato 'nyat,¹⁷ sthavira evā 'yam niṣṭhāvāḥ śete; tam adya kumārā gopālā 'vipālā mṛdā śakṛtpiṇḍāir āsapāṇḍubhir adikṣus,¹⁸ tata idam ittham abhūd iti. (3) 121.

Sa ho 'vāca, Cyavano vāi sa Bhārgavo 'bhūt, sa Vāstupasya¹⁹ brāhmaṇam veda, tam nūnam putrā vāstāu hitvā prāyāsiṣur iti; enam²⁰ ādrutya 'bravīd, ṛṣe namas te 'stu, Śaryātebhyo²¹ bhago mṛde 'ty, atha ha Sukanyā Śaryāti²² kalyāṇy āsa; sa ho 'vāca, sa vāi me Sukanyām dehī 'ti, tām ne²³ 'ti ho 'vācā, 'nyad dhanam brūṣve 'ti, ne 'ti ho 'vāca, Vāstupasya²⁴ vāi brāhmaṇam veda, tām ma iho 'panidhāya²⁵ sāyam evā 'dya grāmeṇa yātād iti, te vāi [ūcuḥ] kathā²⁶ tvā 'mantrayitvā pratibravāme 'ti, te ho 'cur mantrayitvāi 'kaṁ vāi dve triṇi param anayā dhanāni labhema-hi, athāi 'naye 'ha sarvam eva lapsyāmahe, hantā 'smā imām dadāme 'ti. Tām hā 'smāi dadus, tām ho 'cuḥ, kumāri, sthaviro vā ayam niṣṭhāvō²⁷ nā 'lam anusaraṇāya, yadāi 'va vayam yunajāmāhā athā 'nvādhāvatād iti. Sā he 'yam yuktaṁ grāmam

¹ vastu paśya (see the notes below). ² evet. ³ vāptu paśya. ⁴ vāstāu. ⁵ -ā 'taḥ? ⁶ -te. ⁷ ahāsiṣur. ⁸ neḥ pakṣanti. ⁹ ajñāpayat(?). ¹⁰ -ā 'taḥ? ¹¹ -an. ¹² hi niḥ. ¹³ kumārījāyām vindeva. ¹⁴ śāryyātebhyo. ¹⁵ va. ¹⁶ bravīchayyāto. ¹⁷ tatonyak (altered, uncertain). ¹⁸ adikṣus(?); see the notes below. ¹⁹ sic. ²⁰ iti nam. ²¹ śāryyātebhyo. ²² śāryyātyā. ²³ tene (tanne?). ²⁴ sic. ²⁵ -dhāyā. ²⁶ te vāi kā (sic). ²⁷ niṣṭhānvo.

anusariṣyanty uttasthāu; sa ho 'vācā, 'he paridhāva sakhāyam jivam (?) hāyinaṁ iti.¹

Sā yad eti² (4. 122) kṛṣṇaḥ sarpa u hai 'vāi 'nām pratyutta-sthāu, sā ha tad³ eva nirvidyo 'paviveśa⁴ hā; 'śvināu darvihomiṇāu bhiṣajyantāv idam ceratur anapisomāu, tāu vai tām etyo 'catuḥ, kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nā 'lam patitvanāyā, 'vayor jāyāi 'dhī 'ti, ne 'ti ho 'vācā, yasmā eva mā pitā 'dāt tasya jāyā bhaviṣyāmī 'ti, tad dhā 'yam ājughoṣā,⁵ 'tha ha⁶ tāu preyatus, sa ho 'vācā, kumāri ko nv eṣa ghoṣo 'bhūd iti; puruṣāu me 'māv upāgātām yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇā(m) tena rūpeṇa 'ti; tāu tvā kim avocatām iti, kumāri sthaviro vā ayam asarvo nā 'lam patitvanāyā, 'vayor jāyāi 'dhī 'ti; sā tvam kim avoca iti, ne 'ty aham avocaṁ, yasmā eva mā pitā 'dāt tasya jāyā bhaviṣyāmī 'ti. (5) 123.

Tad dhā 'sya priyam āsa. Sa ho 'vācā,⁷ aśvināu vai tāu darvihomiṇāu⁸ bhiṣajyantāv idam carato 'napisomāu, tāu tvāi 'tad evā 'gatya śvo vaktārāu, tāu tvam brūtād, yuvaṁ vā asarvāu stho yāu devāu santāv asomapāu sthaḥ, sarvo vai mama patir yaḥ somapa iti⁹; tāu vai tvā vaktārāu, kas tasye 'śe yad āvam apisomāu syāve 'ty, ayam mama patir yaḥ somapa¹⁰ iti brūtāt; teno eva me punaryuvatāyā āśe 'ti. Tāu hai 'nām śvobhūta etyāi 'tad evo 'catuḥ, sā ho 'vācā, yuvaṁ vā asarvāu stho yāu devāu santāv asomapāu sthaḥ, sarvo vai mama patir yaḥ somapa iti; tāu ho 'vācatuḥ, kas tasye 'śe yad āvam apisomāu syāve 'ty, ayam mama patir iti ho 'vācā. (6) 124.

Tam ho 'vācatur, ṛṣe 'pisomāu nāu bhagavaḥ kurv iti, tathe 'ti ho 'vācā, tāu vai nu mām yuvam punaryuvānaṁ kurutam iti. Tam ha Sarasvatyāi śāiśavam abhyapacakarṣatuḥ; sa ho 'vācā, kumāri sarve vai sadṛśā udeṣyāmo 'nena mā lakṣmakeṇa¹¹ jānītād iti, te ha sarva eva sadṛśā udeyur yat kalyāṇatamaṁ rūpāṇāṁ tena rūpeṇa; tam he 'yam jñātvā vām hā 'pabibhedā, 'yam¹² mama patir iti. Tam ho 'catur, ṛṣe 'kurvā 'yam tava tam kāmam yas tava kāmo 'bhūt, punaryuvā 'bhūr, āvām ca¹³ tathā 'nuśādhi yad āvam apisomāu syāve 'ti. (7) 125.

Sa ho 'vācā, devā vā ete Kurukṣetre 'paśīrṣṇā¹⁴ yajñena yajamānā āsate, te tam kāmam nā 'pnuvanti yo yajñe kāmā; tad

¹ See the notes, below. ² iti. ³ sāhaṁtad. ⁴ paviveśā. ⁵ ajaghoṣā.

⁶ he. ⁷ sahoca. ⁸ -homino. ⁹ yas somapati.

¹⁰ cancelled (but evidently to be retained) are yas somapā (sic).

¹¹ sic! ¹² jñātvā vāhāvabibhedeyam. ¹³ bhūtrāvāncamtathā.

¹⁴ paśiṣṇyā.

yajñasya śīro 'chidyata; tad yad Dadhyañ Ātharvaṇo 'nvapaśyat tam tat prechataṁ,¹ sa vām tad anuvakṣyati tato 'pisomāu bha-
viṣyatha iti; tad yat tad yajñasya śīro 'chidyate 'ti so 'sāv
ādityah, sa u eva pravargyas;² tāu ha Dadhyañcam Ātharvaṇam
ājagm(at)us³ tam ho 'catur, ṛṣa upa tvā 'yāve 'ti, kasmāi kāmāye
'ty, etad yajñasya śīro 'nuvakṣyāvaha⁴ iti, ne 'ti ho vāce, 'ndro
vāi tad apy apaśyat, sa mā 'bravid, yadi vā idam anyasmāi
brūyāḥ⁵ śīras te chindyām iti, tasmād bibhemī 'ti; sa vāi nāv
anenā 'śvasya śīrṣṇā 'nubrūhī 'ti, tathe 'ti ho 'vāca, sa vāi nu
vām saṁvadamānāu⁶ paśyānī 'ti, tāu he 'māu svam śīro nidhāye
'dam aśvasya śīraḥ pratisaṁdhāyā 'taḥ⁷ saha sma saṁvadamānāv
āsāte, sāmā gāyamānāv ṛcam yajur abhivyāharantāu; tābhyām
ha śraddhāya tenā 'śvasya śīrṣṇā 'nūvāca. (8) 126.

Tad Indro 'nvabudhyata, prāhā, 'bhyām avocad iti, tasyā
'drutya śīraḥ prāchinad, idam aśvaśīrṣam; atha yad asya svam
śīra āsit tad imāu manīṣiṇāu pratisamadhattām. Tāu ha devān
ājagmatur apasīrṣṇā yajñena yajamānāns; tām ho 'catur, apaśī-
rṣṇā vāi yajñena yajamānā ādhve,⁸ te tam kāmān nā 'pnutha
yo yajñe kāmā iti. Kas tad yajñasya śīro vede 'ty, āvam iti,
tad vāi pratisaṁdhattam iti; tābhyām vāi nāu grahaṁ grhñite
'ti, tābhyām etam āśvinam grahaṁ grhṇāns; tāv abruvan, yuvam
evā 'dhvaryū sthas, tāu tat prajānantāv etad yajñasya śīraḥ
pratisaṁdhāsyatha iti, tathe 'ti, tāv adhvaryū āstām, tat tāv
apisomāv abhavatām. (9) 127.

Atha ha Cyavano Bhārgavaḥ punaryuvā bhūtvā 'gacchac'
Charyātam Mānavam, tam prācyām sthalyām āyājayat; tad
asmāi sahasram adadāt, tenā 'yajatāi, 'tad vāi Cyavano Bhār-
gava etena sāmnā stutvā punaryuvā⁹ bhavat, kumārīm jāyām
avindata, sahasreṇā 'yajatāi; 'te vā etasmin sāman kāmā, etān
eva kāmān avarundhe, yatkāma evāi 'tena sāmnā stute sam,
asmāi sa kāmā rddhyate, 'tho ha smāi 'tenāi 'va sāmnā Cyavano
Bhārgavo yad yad aśanam cakame tad tad dha sma Sarasvatyāi
śāisavād¹⁰ udacati; tad v annādyasyā 'varuddhisāmā, 'vā 'nnā-
dyaṁ rundhe 'nnādaśreṣṭhaḥ svānam bhavati ya evam veda;
yad u Cyavano Bhārgavo 'paśyat tasmāc Cyāvanam ity ākhyā-
yate.

¹ Conjecture. text : tam tachś (i. e. cch)atam (see notes below).

² Cf. ŚBr. xiv. 1. 1. 27. ³ ājagmastu. ⁴ nuvakṣyāvahā iti. ⁵ brūyāt.

⁶ saṁsaṁvad. ⁷ pratisaṁdhāyate. ⁸ ādhve. ⁹ gacharyyātam.

¹⁰ śeśavād.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE CYAVANA STORY.

§ 120. Vāstupasya: Of the various forms given in the text, that which was selected for former translation, vāstupāśya, is preferable to the meaningless vāptupaśya. But the frequent interchange of the palatal and dental sibilant (cf. abāśīsur in this paragraph) would alone be sufficient to make more acceptable the pasya form, since that, as a genitive, gives a reason for the position of vāi. It is unfortunate that vāstupāśya, as a name of a Brāhmaṇa, has thus found its way into the (pw.) smaller Petersburg lexicon. Reading the genitive, we at once gain a further light on the connection. "I know the *brāhmaṇa* of Vāstupa" is the logical prelude to what follows. For Vāstupa is the lord of the leavings of the sacrifice, and hence the lord of one who is left or deserted. A parallel may be found in Śat.Br. I. 7. 3. 1. f.: Yajñena vāi devāḥ | divam upo 'dakrāmann atha yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām iṣṭe sa ihā 'hiyata, tasmād Vāstavya ity āhur vāstau hi tad ahiyata. (?) tasmād vāstavya ity āhur vāstu hi tad yajñasya yad dhuteṣu haviḥṣu. The two titles of Rudra-Śiva are found together in MS. ii. 9. 7: Namo Vāstavvyāya ca Vāstupāya ca.

As to the first part of the compound *vāstupa*, there is, of course, no doubt that the Hindu liturgical writers connected it with vāstu 'place,' as they did vāstavya. But that vāstupa should really mean "maintaining the (abandoned) place," thus leaving the radical notion of the compound to an inference, is not very likely. This notion is that of a deserted place, and was probably at first expressed not by vāstu "place," but by **vastu*,¹ Lat. vastus, English 'waste.' 'Lord of the desert-waste' is a fit epithet of Śiva, and as desert-lord he is properly invoked by the deserted. The MS. has both vāstu and vāstu; but for this late text the latter alone may be right.

In the ŚBr. the aged saint is merely described as deserted. In the JBr. he is clearly deserted by his sons, and apparently this was not an extraordinary case. Practically the old man is exposed to die. A case where the sons squabble over the division of their father's property while he is practically deserted is mentioned in this same Adhyāya, § 156: "When Abhipratāraṇa was lying used up with old age, jīṛṇaḥ śayānaḥ, his sons divided the

¹ The corresponding vāstavya can also derive from vāstu or **vāstu*.

inheritance and made a great noise about it. 'What is that noise?' ko ghoṣa iti, he asked. And they said to him, 'Sir, your sons are dividing the inheritance,' dāyaṁ vibhajanta iti," etc.

In this same paragraph, § 120, the old translation countenanced the suspicious triḥ with punar, reading triḥ punaḥ prayāṇam prayāte 'ti, since it gives (hesitatingly) 'go forth with thrice repeated departure.' It might be imagined that triḥ, if accepted, should go with nidhāya; but the true reading, I suspect, is nidhāyā 'taḥ, 'deposit me and then depart.'

§ 121. At the end of this paragraph, my transcription of the Grantham gives adikṣus. Professor Whitney, though he used my transcription when making his translation (PAOS., May, 1883), appears to have read adhikṣus and he adopted the latter form in his List of Roots. It is at least doubtful.

§ 122. The feminine Śāryātā of the text I have not ventured to introduce in place of the usual form. The final words of this section are very uncertain. The ji is separated by cancelled syllables (yaṁ niṣṭhaṁ) from the va, which together make the basis of the old (implied) reading, jīvam: "He said: 'O serpent, circumvent her deserting [her] living friend.'" I question the correctness of jīvam, because the scribe has just before written niṣṭhaṁva for niṣṭhāva and apparently was about to do this again. As ya is often written for yu and e for ā we might make sakhe, yuñjīvahi nām (=enām after i, as above), or read sakhā 'yam ahāyi, enām (paridhāva); but I cannot say that I have much confidence in either suggestion.

§ 125. Perhaps apavivecā for avabibhede (which Professor Whitney did not translate) would be a conjecture justified in part by the frequent interchange of p with v, and ā with e. The 'vabibheda(e) of the text can scarcely be employed in the sense (to be expected) 'I distinguish you two; this man here is my husband,' but might perhaps mean 'I divide you off.'

§ 126. Professor Whitney read (Kurukṣetre) paśiṣṇyā yajñena, 'with a victim-sacrifice' (?). But this is only one of the common cases of confusion in the making of compound letters. My transcription shows this, indeed, as the literal rendering, but the word intended is evidently apaśiṣṇā, as required by the meaning and actually written in § 127.

The form tacchatam (taṁtachśatam) can hardly be for takṣa-tam, as the ligatures are not confused by the scribe. I suppose

a syllable to have been omitted in *tañ tat pṛcchatam*, “ask him about it, he will instruct you”. The corresponding passage in ŚB. xiv. 1. 1. 18–27, where the same story of Dadhyanc and Indra is told with variations (but also in part with identical phraseology) might suggest *śukram* as the original: (21) *tāu he 'tyo 'catuḥ, upa tvā 'yāve 'ti, kim anuvakṣyamāṇāv ity, etañ śukram etañ yajñam yathā-yathāi 'tad yajñasya śiraḥ pratidhīyate yathāi 'sa kṛtsno yajño bhavati 'ti*, etc. The passage in ŚB. closes with citing RV. 1. 116. 12, which, following so closely the stanza cited above on Cyavana, suggests that the RV. also knew the whole tale in its later form.

In this same § 126, it would be tempting to keep the text *'nuvakṣyāvahā iti* as a future subjunctive; but the long and short vowels are probably exchanged, and the scribe's errors are so frequent that in my opinion it would be a mistake to accept any form because it is found in this manuscript. I may say in conclusion that the scribe usually uses the *upadhmāṇiya* sign, but now and then he writes the visarga for it (he always, I believe, uses the sibilant for the visarga before a sibilant). To the writer, or to the scribe, *na* seems to bear the same relation to *ena* as does *sa* to *eṣa*, since the latter twice writes *-i nam*. The reader will have noticed, besides the forms discussed by Professor Whitney in the notes to his translation, the irregularities *uvācatuḥ* and *cakarṣatuḥ*, known to us from the epic poets.¹ A further parallel to the epic is presented by the Brāhmaṇa's treatment of

THE TALE OF VIDANVAT AND CYAVANA.

The after-piece to this tale in the Jāminiya is connected with the following story told in the Tāṇḍya, xiii. 11. 10, concerning one Vidanvat, who, like Cyavana, was a son of Bhṛgu. They appear to have stood together, as representatives of one family, against the gods. The Tāṇḍya version gives no reason for Vidanvat's assault on Indra. The story is told here apropos of the three chants called Vāidanvatāni, which the Tāṇḍya explains as follows:

Vidanvān vāi Bhārgava Indrasya pratyahaṅs, tañ śug ārthat [āpnot], sa tapo 'tapyata, sa etāni vāidanvatāny apaśyat, tāiḥ

¹ In § 126, the form *jagmas(tu)* is evidently a clerical error for *jagmatus*, and not for *jagmus* (pl. for dual). In § 127, *grhṇan* is rather exceptional.

śucam apāhatā, 'pa śucam hate vāidanvatāis tuṣṭuvānah. "Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu, struck at Indra; woe came upon him. He performed austerities and had a vision of these chants (called) the Vāidanvata chants, by means of which he removed his woe. One who praises with these chants removes woe."

The JBr. has the Cyavana story of the epic, interwoven with the tale of Vidanvat as a sort of logical prelude. But this in turn depends upon Cyavana's gift of a draught of Soma to the Aśvins; while not only Cyavana but all the seers together invoke the great Mada demon. Finally, partly as in the epic (see above, p. 52), the demon is laid by being induced to enter into the intoxicating drink surā. In this account, the story of Cyavana is picked up where it was left in § 128 (compare, above, the phrases prācyām sthalyām and tābhyām graham grhṇīta). The whole tale is told as follows:

§ 159. Atha trīṇi vāidanvatāni. Śaryāto vāi Mānavah prācyām sthalyām ayajata.¹ Tam ha ṛṣayo yājayām cakrus, tad ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ soma(m) sampibaṅs, tad ubhayāir devamanuṣyāir uttamaṁ somaḥ sampītas²; tasmiṁś Cyavano Bhārgavo 'śvibhyām graham agrhṇāt. Tam Indras camasaṁ vā agrhṇāt, ko 'yam ajñātaś camasaḥ pracarati 'ti; tasya Vidanvān Bhārgavaḥ pratyahan, kas tam camasaṁ (m)īmāṁsitum arhati yaṁ vā 'yam³ prayachati 'ti³ (159). Te devā akrudhyann, akrudhyann ṛṣayas; te nā 'vanatā(?)⁴ Maruta ṛṣṭihastā atiṣṭhann, idānīm idam paryākariṣyāmo 'the 'dam sarvaṁ mardīsyata ity āhu(r)⁵; ṛṣayo Madam āsuram udāhvayan; sa u tṛṇdann ivā⁶ 'ntariṣaṁ śīrṣṇā 'bhyayāt⁷; sā mahatī samad⁸ āsīt. So 'gnir Indram abravīd, vyetu te krodhaḥ śreyāṅso vā ete 'smad⁹; yadi vā etān krodha īsyati ne 'ha kiṁ cana pariśekṣyata, etebhyo vāi vyaṁ jātās(s)ma iti. Tasyā 'gnir eva krodhaṁ vyanayat. Sa Indro vitakrodhaḥ saha devāiḥ prādravat. Teṣāṁ apendro 'padevo yajño 'bhavat; te 'kāmayanta,¹⁰ sendro naḥ sadevo yajña(h) syād iti. Sa etāni Vidanvān Bhārgavo sāmāny apaśyat, tāir¹¹ astuta, tāir¹² Indram āhvayat, tāir asya krodhaṁ vyanayat. Tato vāi teṣāṁ Indro yajñam upāvartata, tata ebhyo 'napakramy

¹ This sentence introduces still another tale, told at JUB. ii. 7. 1 (translated by Professor Oertel, JAOS. xvi. p. 149).

² somasthāmpītas. ³ vyaṁ prayachetīti. ⁴ tenavanatīyo. ⁵ aha.

⁶ evā.

⁷ Altered and doubtful.

⁸ samam.

⁹ vetu te krodhaśreyāṅso vā ete smid.

¹⁰ ye kām.

¹¹ āir.

¹² ter.

abhavat, tata eṣa¹ sendraḥ sadevo yajño 'bhavat. Tāni vā etāni sendrāṇi sadevāni sāmāni; sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavaty, abhy asye 'ndro yajñam āvartate, nā 'syo sa Indro² yajñād apakrāmati ya evaṁ veda. Paśavo ha khalu vāi vidanvanta (?) etā rco vidanvatīś, tāsū etam ṛṣabhaṁ vāidanvatam ava(?) srjanti³ mithunatvāya prajananāya; mithunenā 'jāyate ya evaṁ veda. Yad u Vidanvān Bhārgavo 'paśyat, tasmād vāidanvatāni 'ty ākhyāya(n)te (160). Atha ha mahā-Mada⁴ āsuro bibhayāṁ cakāra, sa ho 'vāca, mā mām moghāyo 'dāhvata,⁵ vi mā nidhatte 'ti. Te 'bruvan, pāsyāma⁶ iti manyamānāḥ, surām āharāma Varuṇasyā 'ndho⁷; 'dhi tasyām na⁸ vā 'sīt katamaś canā 'rta(h) samartyā iti, tatra Mada parehī 'ti; sa eṣa Mada āsuraḥ surāyām vinihataḥ.

"Now (is explained the origin of the three) Vāidanvata (chants). Verily Śaryāta, the son of Manu, was sacrificing on the eastern site. The seers, in truth, conducted the sacrifice. Both gods and men then drank Soma together; (but) that was the last time gods and men drank Soma together.⁹ On this (occasion), Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu, took a draught (of Soma) for the Aśvins. That cup Indra seized, saying, 'What unrecognized cup is appearing here?' Vidanvat, (another) son of Bhṛgu, struck at Indra, saying, 'Who dares to question the cup which this (seer) presents?' (159).

The gods were angry; the seers were angry. The Maruts, not hiding¹⁰ (?), stood with spears in their hands (beside Indra), saying, 'Now we are going to convulse the world; now he is going to smash the whole world.' (But) the seers summoned up

¹ eṣā.² nāsyeesendro.³ avisrjanti.⁴ mahamada.⁵ Here and above upā (call to aid) might be expected for udā, but the d is clear.⁶ Query, -nn apāsyāma?⁷ varuṇasyāndhaso.⁸ ne.⁹ Compare ŚBr. iii. 6. 2. 26: te ha smāi 'ta ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ pitarāḥ sampibante, sāi 'ṣā sampā, te ha sma dr̥ṣyamānā eva purā sampibanta utāi 'tarhy adr̥ṣyamānāḥ, 'Both gods and men and the Fathers used to drink together; this (was) their symposium. They used to be seen drinking together of old, but now invisible (they drink together).'
¹⁰ Doubtful. If the Maruts were numbered like the steeds of Vāyu and Indra (RV. iv. 48. 4) we might suppose a clerical error for te nava navatī(r) ye (Marutaḥ). The easiest clerical assumption is tām avanatya, but the sense seems to require the ptc. Compare RV. i. 87. 1, anānatāḥ, of the Maruts.

(to their aid) the demon Mada (Intoxication). He, piercing the sky with his head, as it were, attacked (? Indra).¹ That was a great conflict. (Then) Agni said to Indra, 'Let thy anger pass away; they are better (stronger) than we. If anger shall impel them, there will be nothing left in this world. We (the gods) are born from these (seers).'² In this way Agni averted Indra's anger, and Indra, his anger gone, fled away with the (other) gods. The sacrifice of these (seers) thus became Indra-less and godless. They uttered a wish, 'May our sacrifice be accompanied with Indra and the gods.' Vidanvat (the seer), the son of Bhṛgu, had a vision of these (Vāidanvata) chants. With these he lauded, with these he invoked Indra, with these he averted Indra's anger. Thereafter,³ verily, Indra came to the seers' sacrifice; thereafter he did not depart from them; thereafter the sacrifice was accompanied with Indra and the gods. These chants are, in truth, accompanied with Indra and the gods. If anyone knows this, his sacrifice is accompanied with Indra and the gods, Indra comes to his sacrifice, nor does Indra depart (thereafter) from his sacrifice. Now, truly, the (male) sacrificial animals (are called) *vidanvat*, and these (female) Vedic verses (are called) *vidanvat*.⁴ To these (female Vedic verses) they put this Vāidanvata (chant as) a bull for the (purpose of) pairing and begetting. He who knows this is born by means of pairing. And because Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu, had the vision of these chants, they are called (the chants) of Vidanvat (Vāidanvatāni).

Now verily the monster Mada, the demon (of intoxication), became afraid and said: 'Summon me not for nothing; dispose

¹ Reading *evā* for *ivā*, "just by piercing through the sky (interspace) be attacked (or perhaps 'frightened,' the verb is open to conjectures) Indra."

² Compare RV. x. 62. 4, where the seers are called *devāputrāḥ*, that is, "having gods as sons" (but possibly "sons of the gods," according to the accent); TS. iv. 3. 10. 1 f., where gods are produced after the seers; and Manu, i. 36, where it is said, "these (great seers) produced the gods." So all the worlds "originate from this" (earth), ŚB. i. 3. 2. 4.

³ Or 'therefore,' and so below.

⁴ *vidanvantāḥ*, *vidanvatīḥ*. Possibly *khalu vāi*, as a phrase, has changed the reading (*khalu vāidanvatāḥ*?). The epithet *vidanvat* (perhaps once used of Cyavana himself) is of doubtful meaning.

of me (somewhere)'. They, thinking 'we will drink (him)',¹ said, 'Let us fetch hither Brandy (personified), the sap of Varuṇa²; for no one was ever injured,³ to hurt, in Brandy. There (into Brandy) do thou go away, O Mada.' So this Mada, the demon (of intoxication), was deposited in Brandy."⁴

¹ So the text, which is secured by sandhi. But perhaps originally not pāsyāma but apāsyāma was read (with abruvann; the iti makes no great difficulty). Then the meaning would be 'Let us send him off.'

² Compare ŚBr. v. 1. 2. 1: Prajāpater vā ete andhasī yat somaś ca surā ca, 'Soma and Brandy are the two saps of Prajāpati.' The mythological name of surā (brandy) is Vāruṇī 'daughter of Varuṇa.' The MS. reading (given in the notes above) would mean 'from the sap of Varuṇa'; but as surā is herself the sap, I have emended to *andh(as)o* (as corrected but undeleted). If vāruṇasya were read, andhaso might be retained, '(her) of the Varuṇa-sap.'

³ Perhaps canartaḥ (for canārtaḥ) should be read ('got into Brandy to his hurt').

⁴ A Vedic quotation follows (RV. ix. 108. 13) and the story ends. It is an interesting fact that in modern India the name of this 'daughter of Varuṇa' has actually been changed in Oudh in accordance with the tale here related. She is no longer known as Vāruṇī but is worshipped as 'Madain,' the female Mada-divinity. Compare Crooke, *Folk-lore of Northern India*, ii. p. 125: "Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, has nowadays been replaced by Madain, who is venerated by Chamārs in Oudh."

[Note to page 42.]

The Physiologos is an Alexandrine product of the close of the second century, first mentioned by Origen. That the latter knows the work by name but does not allude to the fountain (though recognizing the eagle's ability to renew youth in some way), may show that the work did not then contain the eagle-fountain. Otherwise the date of the myth would be fixed very nearly between the time of Aelian and Origen, though the patristic East may have known the story still earlier without the classical world being acquainted with it. Cf. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiol.*, p. 71 (text, 236); Mann, *Französ. Stud.*, vi, p. 42.